The Ghost of Royal Oak

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THE GHOST OF ROYAL OAK

The Ghost of Royal Oak

By the

REVEREND WILLIAM C. KERNAN

EPISCOPAL DIOCESE OF NEWARK

ILLUSTRATED BY LEE

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I GRATEFULLY ACKNOWLEDGE THE HELPFUL ADVICE OF DR. FRANK KINGDON AND THE AID OF GEORGE FIELD AT EVERY STEP OF THE WAY.

W. C. K.

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DEFLATED DEMAGOGUES IN AMERICA

Once there was a big frog who one day met a much smaller frog. Said the small frog, "What a fine frog you are! I'll wager that you could make yourself bigger than you are if you wanted to." This pleased the big frog greatly and so he took a deep breath and puffed himself up until he became even larger. Said the small frog again, "How magnificent you look! Couldn't you become just a little larger?" The big frog tried again and puffed himself up until he looked very much like a large balloon. But the strain from inflation was too much for his thin skin, and suddenly he burst. And then he wasn't even a big frog any more.

Our national life has been, of late, marred by the appearance of some men whose chief occupation has been to try their hand at inflating themselves. In every instance their purpose was to make themselves appear big enough to threaten the continued existence of our democracy. But in every case also, democracy proved itself too much for them, while time and events proved to be the needle that eventually pricked their inflated skins, reducing them to their normal size—which was very small indeed.

And so it came to pass that the inflated demagogues in America became deflated demagogues. They threatened American democracy and they failed. Father Coughlin, as one example, reached his peak in 1936 when the events of that year proved to be his undoing and he disappeared for

a while. Later, as the ghost of Royal Oak, he tried to make a come-back, this time with an attack upon democracy, patterned in the Hitler style, full of anti-Semitism and a booming glorification of Fascism as the defense against Communism. But time and events caught up with him again when Hitler and Stalin signed their friendship pact and when both Catholics and Protestants denounced anti-Semitism as alien to Christianity and our democracy. That is typical of the course that all the deflated demagogues have run. They inflate themselves. They fill the air "with sound and fury, signifying nothing." Then the little prick of the needle, and the air goes out of them.

But, although deflation is always the end of the demagogues themselves, it is not, unfortunately, at once the end of the seeds of malice that they have sown. For a while they continue to bring forth some evil fruit. I have relentlessly examined the program of Father Coughlin, not because of his importance as a man, but because of his prominence, for a time, as the symbol of that kind of demagogic activity which sowed the seeds of discord and dictatorship in America. I have not been concerned to examine Father Coughlin as a man, but I have been concerned to lay bare his ideas and the lessons that they have taught.

Father Coughlin was the symbol—the symbol of danger to America. But there were others, not so well known, to be sure, but just as eager to enlarge themselves by inflating themselves. They came to naught. Just the same, these merchants of malice must be watched not because most Americans will be deceived by their assumed importance, but because there are those in America who, in times of stress, have not the courage to be strong, and who grasp

desperately at almost any straw—even the straw of dictatorship. Our deflated demagogues knew this and they built their hopes of destroying democracy upon it.

There was, for one, a certain William Dudley Pelley, best known as the leader of the Silver Shirts, a Fascist organization in America. Mr. Pelley tried and failed at a number of things before he finally tried and failed as a destroyer of American democracy. He even went to Hollywood and tried to crash the movies as a scenario writer, only to find the grade too hard to climb.

In 1930 he established the Galahad Press in New York City and began to publish *The New Liberator*. It was not a success and so he organized the League of Liberation. In 1932 he proposed a platform for America and that was not successful. At about this time he met an ardent Nazi named Heiss whose influence began to appear in Pelley's writings in the form of violent anti-Semitism. In 1933 he organized the Silver Legion to give expression to his pro-Nazism and his anti-Semitism. Then he cooperated with the Nazis in America. The leader of his Silver Shirts in New York was an active Nazi, and in California three of the outstanding Nazi leaders spent time working with the Silver Shirts in that state.

But the aid of the Nazis could not make Mr. Pelley's venture a success, and in 1934 he was indicted for fraud in North Carolina. Pelley went into bankruptcy and his organization crumbled.

Like all deflated demagogues he tried to inflate himself again. In 1935 he organized the Christian Party and the Councils of Safety. He traveled about organizing his so-called Christian Party and in 1936 announced himself as a candidate for president on its ticket. In 1937 he put

his Party into an election in the state of Washington and out of a total of one-half million votes he received some 1,500. Again deflation set in and the bubble burst.

He offered to help the Dies Committee expose subversive activities in America, but his helpfulness vanished when the Dies Committee discovered that Pelley himself was part of the subversive movement in the United States. Now Pelley is in hiding. He has deserted his followers and the government is looking for him. Rumors have been circulated that it is difficult to pick him up because he has shaved off his goatee. Another deflated demagogue has passed away.

The Reverend Gerald L. K. Smith of Louisiana was another demagogue who succumbed to the suggestion of some little frogs and tried to inflate himself. He now knows how quickly time and events can reduce the inflated one to his normal size.

The Rev. Mr. Smith began as an organizer for Huey Long's Share-the-Wealth movement in the early 30's. After Mr. Long's death, Mr. Smith thought of himself as Long's successor in the leadership of the movement. He failed in that ambition. But not until he had tried, together with Father Coughlin and Dr. Townsend, to elect Representative Lemke to the presidency. Dr. Townsend had the temerity to call the Rev. Gerald L. K. Smith a Fascist in public—so Father Coughlin and Mr. Lemke had to drop him. Deflation came early for Mr. Smith.

But he set out again, after the fashion of all deflated demagogues, to inflate himself again. He began to organize the Committee of Ten Thousand—later changed to the Committee of One Million. He was avowedly anti-Communist, but an examination of his organization re-



Dancing to the Same Tune . . .
Father Coughlin, Pelley, Kuhn, Moseley, McWilliams

vealed that it was based upon the Fascist leadership principle, with the Rev. Mr. Smith as the leader.

Like Pelley, he went about trying to organize his movement. And, like Pelley, he failed. In 1937 he came to New York and held meetings to which members of the German-American Bund and some notorious anti-Semites frequently came. But sometimes he would denounce Fascism as well as Communism and so his following left him. He held a meeting at the old Hippodrome, an auditorium of over 6,000 seats, but only 600 people came. It was deflation again.

In the same group belongs Major-General George Van Horn Moseley, Retired. When he retired in 1938, the demagogic mania seized him, too. On September 30, 1938, he began by issuing a violent attack upon the President to which the Secretary of War replied by suggesting that Major-General Moseley must have felt thwarted in his ambition to become Chief of Staff.

And then Major-General Moseley took on the familiar traits of the inflated demagogue. He entered the anti-Semitic movement. On November 11, 1938, he attended a meeting of the American Patriots, an anti-Semitic organization headed by one Allan Zoll. Then he appeared at a dinner given by the anti-Semitic magazine *Patriotic Digest*. His speech on that occasion contained unfounded and unspeakable charges against the Jews. But Major-General Moseley liked it so much that he repeated it in Philadelphia, in March, 1939. Pelley liked the speech, too, and distributed thousands of copies of it. Edmondson, another pro-Fascist in America, liked it as much as Pelley did and he shouted, "Hail Moseley." Then Fritz Kuhn was drawn to Major-General Moseley. He and some of his

lieutenants in the German-American Bund attended a meeting at which Moseley spoke. So did some active members of the Un-Christian Front and the Christian Index. Joseph MacWilliams, another anti-Semite, sought him out, and James True, Washington correspondent for the Fascist movement, became one of his advisors. It looked as if Maj.-Gen. Moseley was about to become the leader who would unite all the Fascists in America in their attack upon our democratic form of government.

Finally the Dies Committee called him. He came, attended by some of his distinguished associates. But despite this imposing support, the General was apparently quite shaken, for he feared to drink a glass of water at the hearing lest he drink poison. Deflation was coming on fast. It reminds us of the experience of another anti-democratic witness before the Dies Committee, Mr. George Deatherage, who, shortly after testifying and calling for Fascism in America, relinquished the leadership of his organization with the words reported in the *New York Herald-Tribune* for November 3, 1939, "The load was just too much for me to carry any longer."

And so it came about that Maj.-Gen. Moseley, too, went the way of the other deflated demagogues in America. His is another record of failure to destroy American democracy. He now confines his activities to his home in Atlanta, Georgia.

But, perhaps, the most glaring failure of all was that of Fritz Kuhn, one-time leader of the German-American Bund. He was bitterly anti-democratic and fervently pro-Hitler. But he finally fell foul of the law. There was a shortage in the funds of the German-American Bund and Kuhn was said to be responsible for it. He did not exactly

deny that, but he explained that the Bund operated, Nazi fashion, under the leadership principle and that, since he was the Fuehrer, he could do what he wanted with the Bund's money. The jury of American citizens did not see things quite in this light, however, because as American citizens they did not believe in or accept the Nazi leadership principle. Accordingly, they found Kuhn guilty and he has since entered the oblivion which is the ultimate abode of all the deflated demagogues in America.

The Communists, like the Fascists in America, have developed their brand of demagogues, too. Chief among them is Mr. Earl Browder. In 1919, Communism began to appear in America and Browder began to gravitate in its direction. He went to Moscow in 1926 and thence to China to convert the Chinese to Communism.

Returning to America he found himself in the midst of a party quarrel, but Moscow soon settled that, and when it did, Browder emerged as the Secretary of the Communist Party in America.

He seems to have done fairly well, at first, in that post. He was trying to convince our people that Communism was in reality nothing more than twentieth-century democracy. He urged uncompromising opposition to Nazi Germany and he was in favor of boycotting the ugly Fascists so as to teach them how horrified he was over their dictatorial and aggressive ways. He liked the democracies and urged them to adopt the policy of collective security against the Fascist aggressors. And he wanted the arms embargo lifted. The process of inflation was proceeding nicely.

Then suddenly all of that changed overnight. Josef Stalin, Mr. Browder's hero and leader, settled his slight

differences with Hitler, Mr. Browder's villain in the piece. And for hours after that Mr. Browder became silent. His *Daily Worker* was without news of this momentous act in Europe and even the Communists had to resort to the capitalistic press to learn what was going on in the world. Deflation had caught up with Mr. Browder at last. His size was rapidly returning to normal and the Communist Party in America was sinking beyond the horizon.

When Mr. Browder and the *Daily Worker* finally spoke again, it was hard to recognize them. The pact? Why, Browder explained, it was the best thing that could have happened for the peace of Europe and that's why Stalin signed it. Stalin wanted peace. That's why he helped the Nazis crush Poland in a bloody conquest. Stalin wanted peace. That's why he attacked little Finland with bombs and planes and tanks. Mr. Browder no longer viewed the New Deal and the democracies with a friendly eye. They were all imperialists now, while Russia was blameless and Nazi Germany hardly less so. He wanted the embargo on arms kept. For it might help Russia's ally. And he wouldn't boycott Nazi Germany any more. He stopped talking about the gradual socialization of America and began instead to suggest a "quick transition" to Communism.

Mr. Browder probably thought that this new line would enlarge his bulk in the sight of some Americans again. But try as he would, his deep breathing did not work. He remained deflated. Prominent members of his party openly deserted it and denounced it. "Fellow-travelers" quietly withdrew from popular front organizations and the ordinary rank and file membership in the party began to decrease.

And then Mr. Browder appeared before the Dies Committee and admitted that it was his custom to travel to Moscow and other places on fraudulent passports, a practice which is contrary to American law. He did it in 1921 and in 1927. In 1934 he obtained another passport by denying that he had ever had one previously. And this one was renewed in 1937 and 1938. Now he is under indictment by the Government. And so to the other deflated demagogues in America, we must add the name of Earl Browder.

The attempts by demagogues in America to destroy this government have always failed. After each such failure the American people have always felt relieved, and also better prepared to meet similar attacks if they should come in the future.

We must watch these shifting attacks upon American democracy and stand ready to meet them whenever and wherever they may appear.

FIVE QUESTIONS FOR THE UN-CHRISTIAN FRONT

Americans have always held to the principle of racial tolerance, to the principle of religious equality, to the principle of freedom of speech, the freedom of press and public assembly. We have striven for justice between man and man and between class and class. We have believed in human decency because we have believed in human dignity. A free country for free men has been our creed, and is still our creed today.

In this generation we are called upon to secure this democracy for ourselves and for our children. And we have as bitter and as important a fight on our hands as our forefathers had in the time of Washington and Jefferson or in the days of Abraham Lincoln. I am confident that we shall win our fight for democracy today as they won the fight for democracy in their day.

The attack upon democracy in our time originates abroad. It is directed by the dictator countries who hate democracy and who are bent upon its destruction. But the attack upon democracy in our time, although it originates in Europe, is taken up by certain elements among our own citizens. These citizens have learned their lessons from foreign propagandists and they copy the methods which have been successful in overthrowing democracy in Europe in order that they may overthrow democracy in America.

One of these methods of attacking democracy is to find a respectable word. In the name of that word, unspeakable horrors are perpetrated. The Nazis took the word "Aryan." That was a respectable word. Another was "blood and soil." Another—strangely enough—was "positive Christianity." The people were taught that they were fighting for the things represented by these words. They were taught that they were fighting for Aryan civilization, for German blood and soil, for a positive Christianity. But, in the name of these respectable words people were persecuted and condemned to lives of misery in concentration camps. In the name of these words labor unions were broken up and their funds confiscated. In the name of these words priests were stoned, religious schools were closed and the right to educate children was taken from parents and from the Church. In the name of these words democracy has been destroyed, men have been degraded and brutal dictatorship has been established.

In America there are those who follow this same pattern and who have this same end in mind—to destroy democracy. They, too, have seized upon and claimed a word in whose name they attack democracy and the rights of American citizens. They have seized upon the word "Christian." They call all who follow them members of the Christian Front. In the name of Christianity, whose aim is to create a brotherhood of all men, they spread race hatred. In the name of Christianity, which proclaims peace among men, they stir up discord. In the name of Christianity, which is identified with truth, they have dealt in falsehoods, many of which they have taken whole-grained from the Nazis who are the enemies of Christianity.

The purposes and the activity of this so-called Christian Front are neither democratic nor Christian. If it deserves any name at all, that name should be the "Un-Christian Front." And its program is broad enough to include all similar undemocratic and un-Christian groups in America—broad enough to include Father Coughlin and his so-called Social Justice, the German-American Bund, the Silver Shirts, the Knights of the White Camellia, the Christian Mobilizers and a number of other less important groups, all of which aim to divide our people, to spread race hatred and to institute dictatorship here as their leaders have in parts of Europe. This is the UN-Christian Front.

Only last August a rally was held in New York which the press reported "as the first of a series of nation-wide open-air gatherings uniting all Christian Fascist groups." At this rally the speakers were George Deatherage, national leader of the Knights of the White Camellia; Fritz Kuhn, leader of the German-American Bund; Joseph McWilliams of the Christian Mobilizers, an organization which has absorbed much of the membership of the earlier pro-Coughlin Christian Front.

In the name of Christianity the speakers, again according to the press report, "discussed the trampling and strangling of enemies, the hanging of officials from telegraph poles and the overthrow of what was described as a revolution already effected in the United States by international bankers. They denounced President Roosevelt and Mayor La Guardia repeatedly." Since they identified the government at Washington with their enemies their talk amounted to a threat to overthrow the Federal government.

All of this was done in the name of Christianity whose purpose is to reconcile man to God and man to man. To proclaim hatred in the name of hatred is bad enough. But to preach hatred in the name of Jesus Christ is a blasphemy so horrible as to be unspeakable. Nevertheless this generation which has seen barbarism and unrestrained force destroy civilization in Europe is also seeing the same kind of barbarism and unrestrained brute force attempt the same thing in America—all in the name of a respectable and holy word, in the name of Christianity. This is the totalitarian way of covering bestiality with the cloak of religion.

The American people must be alert to these things if they do not want to see happen here what has already happened in Europe, and if they value human decency and justice and charity among men.

Accordingly I put five questions to the members of the Un-Christian Front in America. I ask them first: *Are you for a civilized peace or do you favor a Hitler-Stalin victory?*

This question is important to Americans, because if the Un-Christian Front favors the Hitler-Stalin kind of victory abroad, we must conclude that it favors the same thing at home. This means that it favors in America racial persecution, the suppression of civil liberties and religion, the murder of members of opposition parties, the regimentation of capital and labor, the establishment of concentration camps, the unrestrained reign of brutality, cruelty and force.

The leaders of the Un-Christian Front have given us reason to conclude that they do favor a Hitler-Stalin victory abroad and a similar victory at home. Said Fritz Kuhn of the German-American Bund, "Hitler can lick the

world." Said Joseph McWilliams of the Christian Mobilizers, "The only war I'd fight would be shooting down the war-mongers under the leadership of Roosevelt and La-Guardia." In addition, he predicted, in the strongest terms, that England and France would be defeated. Knowing the pro-Nazi feelings of these men, knowing that they wish to see democracy and civilization crushed abroad, we conclude that they desire the same kind of victory for barbarism in America. And so I ask them: *Do you favor a Hitler-Stalin victory?*

The second question that I put to the Un-Christian Front is this: *Do you endorse the Hitler-Stalin pact?* Many observers and students of Nazism and Communism have always said that the two ideologies are as alike as two peas in a pod, that they are both different forms of Fascism, and that properly they should be designated as "red" Fascism and "brown" Fascism. But always, until recently, this was hotly denied by the Nazis and the Communists. They were supposed to be engaged in mortal combat with each other. Father Coughlin defended his pro-Nazi bias by saying that Fascism is the defense mechanism against Communism—against Communism which was supposed to be the great evil from which Fascism would rescue us. That has been the position of the Un-Christian Front.

But what now? The Communists and the Nazis are friends. The Swastika and the Hammer and Sickle are borne side by side in Berlin. The Nazi and Communist armies both invade Poland and divide that hapless country between them.

Now to the Nazi suppression of religion is added the Communist destruction of religion. Now to the Nazi regimentation of labor and capital is added the Com-

munist regimentation of labor and capital. Now to the Nazi denial of civil rights is added Communist denial of civil rights. Now to Nazi aggression is added Communist aggression. The followers of evil incarnate have joined hands. The blood of millions of Christians is mingled with the blood of millions of Jews—civilization's sacrifice to the barbarism of Nazi-Communism.

I ask the Un-Christian Front: *Do you endorse this Hitler-Stalin pact?* We have reason for suspecting that they do endorse it. In a recent speech one of their spokesmen, Mr. Deatherage, made what the press described as "an appeal in behalf of Russia." On that occasion Mr. Deatherage said, "It will surprise you to know that there has been a great rebuilding of the Christian faith inside Russia." Mr. Deatherage apparently meant by this statement that since Russia is becoming Christian, Communism is no longer abhorrent. It can now be tolerated. Indeed, it has to be since the Nazis and the Communists have joined hands. But the Un-Christian Front must have an excuse for accepting Russia now, so it is said that Russia is becoming Christian. This is the Un-Christian Front's way of saving its face. But the question remains: *Do you endorse the Hitler-Stalin pact?*

The third question that I put to the Un-Christian Front is this: *What has become of the charge that the origin of Communism is Jewish?* The Nazis in Europe and their counterparts in America have staked their appeal on the alleged fact that the Jews are responsible for Communism in Russia and elsewhere. They have painted Communism as detestable and they have bestirred hatred of the Jews because they have made them responsible for detestable Communism. They have defended Nazism because, as

they have said, it is the defense mechanism against Communism.

Father Coughlin's radio addresses have been full of this kind of Nazi propaganda—until recently. So have the speeches and writings of other members of the Un-Christian Front. The untruth underlying this attack upon the Jews has been pointed out again and again. But the leaders of the Un-Christian Front have never acknowledged their error.

But now—now that the greatest of all the Nazis has clasped the hand of the greatest of all the Communists, what becomes of the charge upon which the Nazi following in America has been built, the charge that Communism is the great evil and the charge that the Jews are responsible for it? All honest men know what becomes of it. It is revealed for what it is and always has been—an untruth designed to stir up hatred against the Jews. By this pact between Hitler and Stalin, the whole case against the Jews collapses. So does the case of the Un-Christian Front in America. In the light of this fact why do not Father Coughlin and all exponents of his doctrine have the good grace to acknowledge their grave error and the wrong that they have done to American citizens of Jewish origin? So, I ask them: *What has become of the charge that the origin of Communism is Jewish?*

The fourth question is this: *Is the Un-Christian Front the same as the Nazi Front?* Writing of those whom I have called members of the Un-Christian Front, Mr. Stanley High said in *The Saturday Evening Post* for May 27, 1939: "American fascists are the ideological offspring of Hitler and National Socialism. . . . Some of them frankly acknowledge it. Many of them admit only to an affinity.

Most of them deny they aim for a Nazi state. . . ." And Mr. High continues, "No groups in America make freer use of the Founding Father or play closer to the flag. That, too, is out of the Nazi book. . . . For fuel for their movement the Nazis mixed patriotism with hate. Their American kinsmen use the same mixture. . . . They hate the Jews. . . . They hate Democracy. . . . They hate the New Deal exactly and no less venomously than the Nazis hated the German Republic. . . . In support of and for the spread of these hatreds they are pouring upon the country an expensive propaganda which, for incoherent violence, might be drawn directly from the presses of Joseph Goebbels or Julius Streicher."

Here are the facts. Here is the ideology and the methods of the Un-Christian Front. And here is the ideology and methods of the Nazis in Europe. What is the difference between them? None, so far as we can see. Therefore I ask: *Is the Un-Christian Front the same as the Nazi Front?*

The fifth question that I put to the Un-Christian Front is this: *What should be the rôle of an American with respect to the war in Europe?*

There are millions of Americans who sincerely want to see America stay out of this war, because they believe that that is the best course for America and for humanity. The patriotic motives of men like Senators Johnson, Nye and La Follette, and the late Senator Borah, for keeping America out of war are above question. These gentlemen are true Americans and, as their records show, they have always defended democracy.

There are, however, others whose devotion is not to American democracy but to Nazi-Communism. Their record—the record of their words and acts—show clearly

that they hate democracy and that they desire a victory for the Nazi-Communist powers because they know that this would mean a further weakening of democracy in the world, and further encouragement for them to proceed with their plans to destroy democracy in America.

So the pro-Nazis and the pro-Communists spread their false propaganda in favor of keeping America out of the war, not because they love American democracy, but actually because they long for the triumph of the forces of barbarism in the world. They used freely the words "warmongers" and "internationalists" and they aim to make Americans afraid of appearing in the rôle of war-mongers and internationalists. They hope thereby to frighten away those who would attack Nazism in this country and they hope to weaken the democracies while strengthening the totalitarian nations. All by the use of a hateful word—warmongers.

Not so long ago the Communists coined a hateful word: "red-baiter." They cowed people by the use of this term so that many were afraid to criticise Communism on its merits for fear of being called red-baiters.

So it is that in both instances, by the use of a hateful word, people have been compelled to abandon their reason. All Americans will resist such attempts at intimidation. We in America are going to decide questions on the basis of their merits. We are going to decide questions on the basis of what is good for America and humanity. We are not going to be intimidated by the pro-Nazi element in America into making decisions which they believe are favorable to Hitler and Stalin.

We have been committed in this country to the ways of democracy for one hundred and fifty years. We have

not, in that time, achieved a perfect democracy. But we have adhered to our basic beliefs: to religious equality, to racial tolerance, to the freedom of the individual. We have held that human beings have rights with which God has endowed them and which no man has the right to take away. We have held that government exists as the servant of the people, not people for the government as their master. We have done our best to establish our government on peaceful procedure. And we have not exalted force. We have believed in justice and human decency.

And today, when all of this for which we have stood is attacked by men who would destroy it, no American can or will be indifferent.

Our faith is in the American people, now as it always has been. In the American people who love justice and human decency, who can never be reconciled to the barbarism of the dictators. Let us be strong and united—at peace with one another and with the world. Let America remain as a haven for all who believe in freedom and justice, now and forever.

THE UN-CHRISTIAN FRONT AGAINST CIVILIZATION

We all love America not only because it is the land of our birth or because it is our adopted country. We love America because our country represents the best and the highest that mankind has yet known. No one of us need ever be ashamed to say, "I am an American." For when one says, "I am an American," he is saying, "I am part of a nation which believes in justice—not only for one race or one class or one religion—but justice for all races and all classes and all religions. I belong to a people who believe that every man is a sacred personality with rights that Almighty God has given him, and which no man can take away. I am a citizen of a country which believes in self-government and human decency and freedom."

Through peril, toil and pain, Americans have achieved these ideals and this way of life. We have not yet attained the goal of a perfect Democracy, but we are on the road and we know the way.

Our forefathers determined to keep to that road and to walk in that way—whatever the cost. We today must determine also to keep to that road and to walk in that way —whatever the cost.

For American democracy today has powerful enemies—within and without. And you and I will defend American democracy in this present moment or it will not be defended at all.

A large portion of the world is now committed to the destruction of democracy and the American ideals of life. Large portions of the world are now under the control of dictators. These dictators are not seeking a better ordering of society or a greater freedom for man, or more justice for man. They do not believe in human decency or human dignity. They are not defenders of human rights.

In Germany and Russia today a follower of Nazi-Communism is a friend of Hitler and Stalin.

But in America today a friend of Nazi-Communism is a traitor to America—to American liberty and American civilization.

These friends are known by different names. Sometimes as followers of Father Coughlin's Social Justice. Sometimes as members of the German-American Bund. Sometimes as Silver Shirts, Knights of the White Camellia and Christian Mobilizers. They are known by different names but their purpose is one—the destruction of American democracy and civilization. They are all members of the Un-Christian Front.

We know that the Nazis are the enemies of Christianity and all religion. We know, further, that the National Socialists in Germany recognize their friends when they see them. And we know that the Nazi newspaper, *Der Stuermer*, declared in March, 1939: "—Father Coughlin in Royal Oak, in the State of Michigan, has the courage to speak his conviction. His conviction is that National Socialism is right."

We can well imagine how pleasant it must be to receive fulsome praise in the public prints, even if these happen to rank among the most anti-religious papers in the world. But I ask, in all seriousness, why is it that Father

Coughlin has not repudiated praise from such a source? Surely today the issue is clearly drawn. Surely every intelligent person knows that we are in the midst of a struggle between civilization and barbarism—between civilization as represented by American ideals, and barbarism as represented by the destructive purposes of Nazi-Communism. A struggle is being waged here between those who believe in civilization and democracy, and the members of the Un-Christian Front. Let me point out that in the midst of that struggle between civilization and the Un-Christian Front, the Nazis recognize Father Coughlin as a friend. I call upon him to repudiate this kind of friendship. He must do that if he is to join the ranks of those whose loyalty to America and to the Church cannot be questioned.

I pause here to call forth the name of the late Cardinal Mundelein, a great American and true churchman. He frequently took the people into his confidence on important issues of the day. His liberalism was as a beacon in a nation which is burdened with the vile, barbarous preaching of the disciples of the Un-Christian Front. It is worthy of note that while Father Coughlin is trying to intimidate and stampede his followers into an attack on President Roosevelt's policy, Cardinal Mundelein stated in his last message, according to Bishop Bernard J. Sheil: "We must do everything in our power to strengthen the President in his mighty task of guiding America to safety."

Referring to President Roosevelt and Pope Pius XII, the Senior Auxiliary Bishop of the Chicago Archdiocese continued: "The recognition that the two greatest leaders of the world think alike on the greatest problem in the world—and that both these leaders are our leaders—

should make American Catholics feel not only proud but safe. It is a matter of particular joy to us that at this time of crisis these two great sources of inspiration are flowing in one direction."

It appears that this address was meant to clear away the confusion caused by the current campaign of certain adherents of the Un-Christian Front. Bishop Sheil explained in the following words how he had discussed his broadcast with Cardinal Mundelein the day before the Cardinal's death: "What he authorized me to say was controversial—something he would not have wanted to have said for him—except that he felt that others had created a situation which might be mistaken to compromise the position of the Catholic clergy toward the Congress and toward his great friend, the President of the United States, in this hour of great decision on national policies affecting his beloved youth."

So, once again Father Coughlin is out of harmony with the Catholic Church which he has vowed to serve. Where Cardinal Mundelein and the great leaders of Catholicism are opposing anti-Semitism, Father Coughlin encourages anti-Semitism. Where Cardinal Mundelein expresses his abhorrence of Nazism, Father Coughlin inspires the support of the Nazis. Where Cardinal Mundelein urges America to strengthen the President "in his mighty task of guiding America to safety," Father Coughlin calls all who favor the President's foreign policy "war-mongers and internationalists." How can any American fail to see which leadership is inspired by the noblest aspirations of man and which leadership is inspired by the barbarism of the Un-Christian Front.

Now, to return to the Un-Christian Front which, when

unmasked, becomes the Nazi Front. It not only embraces Nazi ideals but it likewise uses Nazi methods. One of these methods so dear to the Nazis in their climb to power in Germany was the boycott of Jewish merchants. The Nazis frightened people into buying only from those whom they called Aryans. In America the Un-Christian Front has adopted the same method.

They have compiled what they call "The Christian Index." The Index supposedly consists of the names of non-Jewish merchants with whom Christians are urged to deal according to the slogan, "Buy Christian." The merchants who wish to be placed on this "Christian Index" must sign a statement which reads in part as follows: "I pledge my Christian word of honor (1) to buy wholesale or retail from Christians only; (2) to give employment to Christians only; (3) to stand loyally by other Christian traders listed in the Index; (4) to work unceasingly for the ideal of a united Christian brotherhood; (5) to try to make it pleasant and profitable for Christians to trade at my store; (6) to place absolute reliance in the decency and good judgment of decisions made by the Committee, inasmuch as such decisions will be made solely for the mutual benefit of Christian traders listed in the Index and for Christian Americans generally."

Let me point out that the enemies of civilization in Europe—the Nazis—originated this method of boycotting Jews. Let me point out that in America the friends of barbarism do the same thing. But let me also point out that Christian charity and the Christian ideal of human brotherhood has nothing to do with this uncharitable and inhuman conduct toward our fellow-citizens of Jewish origin. This boycott of American Jews by Americans is the

Un-Christian Front's way of causing strife and disunion in America. It is their way of breaking up cooperation between our citizens, of making it difficult for democracy to work, and then of instituting their reign of terror and bloodshed here in America—in the land of racial equality.

But, this is not all! On the back page of the so-called "Christian Index" is this statement: "Christ himself sponsored this little leaflet for your protection." Christ sponsored it! Christ—who, in his humanity, was a Jew. Christ sponsored it! Christ, whose gospel of charity and reconciliation between men is known to all the world. Christ sponsored this indecent and this inhuman, this disgraceful Index! Never in a thousand years. All true Christians will disown it. And Americans who believe in democracy and equality will tear this Index to pieces and trade with any American merchant they choose—whether he be Christian or race.

Another well known method of the Nazis in their climb to power was the formation of semi-military units, known as Storm Troopers. These storm troopers were trained in street fighting, in keeping order at Nazi meetings and in throwing fear into people who might object to Nazi ways. They are largely responsible for Hitler's success.

In America the organizations identified as the Un-Christian Front do the same things:

They have what is called sports clubs and armed guards. They engage in target practice with rifles. They pretend to be shooting at reindeer. But, as the would-be riflemen shoot at the target, the director says, "We have nothing against the reindeer." I ask this: If you have nothing against the reindeer, whom do you have something against? Could it be that you have something against some

of our American citizens? You have attempted to boycott these citizens. You have issued an Index against them. Your speakers have denounced them and talked of the gutters running with their blood. We have reason to believe that you are preparing for your Nazi revolution. Is this, too, part of your kind of Christianity?

Again, the Nazi methods aiming at barbarism in America are followed further by the Un-Christian Front. The Mobilizers, led by Joseph McWilliams, have units of men called "Defense Units" and "Mobilizer Guards." These, too, are similar to the Nazi storm troopers. The Mobilizers give the Nazi salute. They "heil" Adolph Hitler and, as a variation, they change the German Nazi acclamation from "Heil Hitler" to "Heil America."

These Mobilizers have issued a circular which reads as follows: "Calling all able-bodied Christian Americans—We are looking for 1,000 Christian Americans. Men and young men between the ages of 18 and 35 are invited to join the Christian Mobilizers Defense Unit. Requirements: You must be a Christian Mobilizer—voluntarily willing to train to defend the Christian cause and fight for a Christian America. You will be taught every art of self defense: 1. Jui-Jitsu; 2. Boxing; 3. Wrestling; 4 and 5. Physical and Military Training. All those who are willing to join report to John Olivo, Commander of the Christian Mobilizers Defense Unit."

I ask these members of the Un-Christian Front, against whom are you mobilizing and training men in Jui-Jitsu, boxing, wrestling, and physical and military training? Certainly not against the Nazis—for they are your friends. Certainly not against the Communists—for they, too, are now your friends. Against whom do you mobilize? It is

apparent that it is against American citizens. Against American unity and American democracy, American civilization and American peace.

On September 1, 1939, *The Commonweal* printed an eye-witness account of a recent meeting of the Un-Christian Front held in a meeting room near Columbus Circle, New York City. The members had gathered to see a motion picture depicting events in Europe and certain activities of the Front. A man named O'Connor served as commentator. Says *The Commonweal:* The sentiment of the audience is manifested by its cheers and boos. Loudest applause goes to Adolf Hitler. Father Coughlin barely equals him. Next come Mussolini and the Emperor of Japan. President Roosevelt is roundly booed, as is Cardinal Mundelein giving the Papal Blessing at the New Orleans Eucharistic Congress. The King and Queen of England are booed amidst cries of "Pay your debts," yet a moment later German soldiers are cheered as Mr. O'Connor calls them "the finest soldiers in the world." . . . Secretary of State Hull is pictured and Mr. O'Connor appeals for silence so that the audience can "get a load of what he is saying." Mr. Hull states that America will never recognize the principle that "might makes right." Mr. O'Connor comments, "That's what you think!"

Finally, conventional shots of Hitler's entry into Austria are flashed and Mr. O'Connor offers this as proof that the Austrian people wanted *Anschluss.*

The news-reel over, the audience is dismissed and asked to file out quickly, as there is a long queue awaiting the next performance.

On August 27, 1939, a meeting of the German-American Bund was held at Camp Siegfried at Yaphank, Long Is-

land. Storm troopers in uniform marched in the parade. I have seen a picture of this parade and I want you to see it as I have. Look at this picture of the parade of storm troopers on August 27, 1939: Three men in that parade are especially noticeable. One is Fritz Kuhn, leader of the Bund—the man who said, "Hitler can lick the world," the man who applauded a recent pro-Nazi address by a Nazi official in America—Fritz Kuhn marches in the storm trooper parade. On one side of him is his bodyguard, a man named Elmer. And on the other side of Fritz Kuhn marches the leader of the Christian Mobilizers—Joseph McWilliams. Only four days before at a meeting of Christian Fascists in New York City the same Kuhn and the same McWilliams had spoken on the same platform with George Deatherage, leader of the Knights of the White Camellia.

Here they are, all members of what may properly be called the Un-Christian Front. All anti-Semitic. All stirring up strife. All pro-Nazi. All breathing hatred. All committed to force. All the enemies of Americanism, democracy, decency and peace. All the friends of barbarism. The Un-Christian Front against civilization!

What is there for us to do about it?

I receive much mail from children who listen to my broadcasts. I especially welcome those letters because our defense of civilization is, after all, more in their behalf than any others. Barbarism always strikes children first and harms them most. We have heard, for instance, of the little boy who was a refugee from Nazi Germany—of how, when he came to America, he took off his shoes and stockings and walked barefoot. When someone asked him why he did that he said, "I just wanted to touch Amer-

ican soil."

For the sake of children like him we want to keep American soil free of cruelty—of cruelty that hurts children. Free of prejudice—that hurts children. Free of hatred and strife and barbarism—that hurts children.

This is the true Christian program for America. It was Christ who said that except we become as little children we shall not enter into the Kingdom of Heaven—that whosoever shall humble himself as a little child is greatest in the Kingdom of Heaven. It was Christ who said that the great offense is the offense against little children.

Yes, for the sake of children and their safety and the protection of their innocence, we must fight for civilization today against hatred and injustice and the unspeakable horror of the totalitarian system. This means that in America we should recognize the Un-Christian Front for what it is: the representative here of that barbarism which is today threatening Europe and the world; and that, recognizing it, we oppose it with all of our strength, and with all of our will, that out of the struggle a greater and a freer America may emerge.

THE COMMU-NAZI GERM ATTACKS AMERICA

Europe, today, is diseased. The Commu-nazi germ has infected it. For years this germ has been infecting it but the people were not alert. They permitted the germ to grow because Commu-nazism promised them everything: jobs, security, protection against their enemies within and without. The people were deceived. And now the germ of Commu-nazism is taking its dreadful toll. What are the jobs? The jobs are the jobs that slaves must take—without protest. What is the security? The security is the security that slaves know—no freedom to think, to read or to speak. And what of the protection? The protection is that provided by the Secret Police—the agents of the Gestapo who are everywhere.

The former president of the Berlin police, Albert Grzesinski, has written a very enlightening book called *Inside Germany*. Speaking of the insecurity of German citizens under the Nazis, he writes: "No person within Germany, whether a citizen or a foreigner, is safe from the Gestapo. . . . Arrests and jailings for an indefinite time are solely police matters and no longer subject to judicial control. Even where judges may acquit a defendant and give him a clean bill of political health, the police are free to do with him whatever they like. They may send him to a concentration camp, confiscate his property and deprive him of his means of living."

This is the protection that German citizens receive from their Nazi masters even as their Communist brothers in Russia receive a similar kind of protection from the Communist Secret Police—the Ogpu. This, too, is the Commu-nazi germ which is rapidly reducing Europe to moral and spiritual putrefaction.

At last we understand clearly that the dictator systems are a throw-back to the morass of barbarism out of which the human race has been trying to climb for countless generations. However slowly at times this climb has been, however painful, however marked by defeat and disappointment at times, men have never before said that their vices were virtues. They have never before blessed evil—nor called evil, good.

But now this unheard-of thing has happened under the Commu-nazi system. The dictators do say that their vices are virtues. They do bless evil and they do call evil, good. They are seeking to undermine all morality, all religion and all democracy.

Thus, the Nazis could say for years that the Communists were their bitter enemies. And thus, too, the Communists could say that the Nazis were their bitter enemies. This was the purest kind of false propaganda. It deceived the people. It created a following for the dictators. It was intended to do that. But when the time came that these falsehoods were no longer necessary, these two supposed enemies joined forces in the Hitler-Stalin pact. And today as friends they threaten civilization as they never did as enemies. When the Communists and Nazis were supposed to be enemies, Poland was safe. But now when the Communists and Nazis are friends, Poland no longer exists. It has been wiped from the map by the combination

of Commu-nazi deceit and aggression.

The falsehood exhibited here—the disregard for human rights, the readiness to murder and to destroy, the cruelty and injustice exhibited—is a sample of what all the world may expect from the dictator systems of this age which hold that their vices are virtues, which bless evil, which call evil good. This is the Commu-nazi germ that is rapidly reducing Europe to moral and spiritual putrefaction.

While this germ was growing and feeding on the peoples' faith in the promises of Commu-nazism, it was encouraged by the very people whom it was planning to destroy. So it was that when Scheidemann, a Social Democrat in pre-Hitler Germany, was elected Lord Mayor of his own city, he was bitterly attacked by the Nationalists and the Communists. Says Mr. Grzesinski, "The reasons behind the systematic persecution of such a public figure as Scheidemann can be found in the German political situation of that time. The Republicans were considered easy victims and nobody, not even their own party and press, gave them sufficient assistance and help."

For years we in America have watched the growth of this same Commu-nazi germ in our own country. We have seen it take lodgment in labor unions and we have seen it spread discord there. We have watched it as it attacked American Jews, creating such hatred and division among our people as to make parts of America a land strange to the American principles of tolerance and justice. We have watched it filter into the local and national government. We have permitted the formation of semi-military units by the German-American Bund and the Christian Mobilizers under the guise of patriotic societies.

We have witnessed the brutal tactics of these uniformed ruffians in America. And we, like the people in republican Germany, have closed our eyes to the danger of all this. Like the republican government in Germany in the days before Hitler we are considered "easy victims" by the Commu-nazi enemies of American democracy. For we permit the Commu-nazi germ to grow here in America even as the German people permitted it to grow in Germany.

While the republican government in Germany took slight pains to defend itself against Nazism and Communism, these enemies of democracy lost no opportunity to take advantage of democratic privileges. There was free speech. The Nazis used it to gain power by which they would destroy free speech. There was freedom of the press. The Nazis used it to gain power by which to destroy freedom of the press. There was freedom of public assembly. The Nazis used it to gain power to destroy freedom of public assembly.

Today the Nazis have power and there is no more freedom of speech, press and assembly in Germany. The German democracy allowed the Nazi germ to grow—and did little about it. And afterwards, when the Nazis had come to power, Dr. Joseph Goebbels, Nazi Minister of Propaganda, said, "Our enemies furnished us with parliamentary and democratic means which enabled us to overthrow them. It was their own choice, but that need not be any inducement to us to make the same mistake."

In America today, the champions of Commu-nazism also take advantage of the democratic privileges of free speech, free press and free assembly. And for what? To proclaim the American principle of tolerance? No. They

use the privilege to preach the vilest kind of racial hatred built upon the basest falsehood. For what? To encourage peace among our people? No. To incite men and women—and even children—to conflict and street warfare against their neighbors.

Free speech for what? To increase our respect for our lawfully elected representatives? No. To heap scorn, insult and ridicule upon the President, the Mayor of New York and all others who believe in and love American ways and American principles.

So it is that the Commu-nazi germ has been carried to America. And so it is, too, that Americans stand by and watch it spread and do all too little to defend themselves against it.

Only a weak and fearful and indifferent democracy will permit these things to go on unchallenged. Ours is no weak or fearful or indifferent democracy. Ours is a strong and courageous democracy. We have the strength to be patient. But we will not stand by and be idle while American democracy is subjected to attack. What can we do about it within the framework of our democracy? Let us take our cue from the practice of medicine in the treatment of contagious diseases. Let us begin now to isolate the Commu-nazi germ. Let us institute a strong educational counter-offensive as an antidote against the spread of this germ in our schools, churches, clubs, trade unions, and political parties. And let us not fear, if we approach our task honestly and fairly, that we may be called "red-baiters," "war-mongers" or "internationalists."

We can speak boldly now because we know how the Commu-nazi germ grows. We must speak boldly now because we also know that as world revolution is part of the

Communist plan, so world domination is part of the Nazi plan. The question is: Do Americans want to be victims of the Commu-nazi germ? Are we willing to submit to dictatorship? To this question no American can be indifferent.

The plan for world domination is reflected in one of the Nazi Youth Songs:

> "We shall march onward,
> Though everything falls to pieces,
> Today we possess Germany
> And tomorrow the whole world."

Considering the Nazi methods for world conquest, Albert Grzesinski, the former head of the Berlin police, points out that they are "essentially the same as were used for the conquest of Germany and the German people. Drive a wedge between your enemies, set them against each other. . . . Nazi propaganda must do its work among the German-speaking citizens of other countries. They must be whipped into shape, co-ordinated and hysterically aroused to the 'call of the blood.' . . . The Nazi system grew highly effective in inciting the people against the Jews, slandering the enemies of the Third Reich and impressing upon the German people the holy doctrine of German world domination. These same methods are applied to people living abroad who are systematically incited to rebellion against the government of their adopted country. Slowly they are turned into enemies of their homelands. The Nazi method of poisoning the spirit of the peoples and undermining the authority of foreign governments would slowly conquer the world as it has conquered Germany, Austria and Sudetenland. It is rap-

idly gaining a foothold in both hemispheres."

These are the words of a man who knows, who is himself German-born and bred, who has held numerous important public positions in Germany. These are the words of a man who saw the Nazi germ grow in Germany just as we see it grow in America. He saw democracy attacked by the Nazis there. He saw the Communists help them in that attack. Just as we have seen the Communists, Coughlinites, the German-American Bund, the Silver Shirts, the Christian Mobilizers—and other members of the Un-Christian Front—attack democracy in America. He heard the Jews denounced there. We hear members of the Un-Christian Front denounce them here.

As an explanation of the new Hitler-Stalin friendship, we read in a publication signed by Robert Edward Edmonson, an anti-Semite of Stoddartsville, Pa., dated September 5, 1939, the suggestion that the Russian Communists are becoming anti-Semitic. We have read Mr. George Deatherage's testimony before the Dies Committee. Mr. Deatherage, leader of the Knights of the White Camellia —Mr Deatherage, the anti-Semite, who said, ". . . To my mind we will have fascism, call it what you may, for there is no solution to this except a disciplined force under central control." We have read Father Coughlin's *Social Justice*. We have read of his willingness to invite missionaries of the dictators abroad to teach us their ways in America.

In view of this known attack upon our institutions inspired from abroad and aided by some of our own citizens we have but one choice. We must determine not only to be strong to defend democracy against its avowed enemies within. We must do more. We must lose no opportunity

to apply American democratic principles effectively and vigorously to all the problems of our national life.

We cannot, for instance, talk about racial tolerance and equality and continue to act contrary to those ideals. In this connection there is at the present time in America a group of three hundred and eighty medical students who have until recently been studying at Scottish universities. Having come home for summer vacation, they found it impossible to return to their studies in Scotland because of the war. If they are to continue their studies, it must be at American universities. Certain anti-Semitic groups, however, have tried to prevent this on the grounds that most of them are Jewish and that accordingly they should not be admitted to American schools.

This is not democracy. It is the Commu-nazi germ at work in America. And no American who loves this country and its democratic institutions will permit this condition to go on. Human beings are equal in America and all Americans are entitled to equal opportunity without respect to race or religion.

Science, like religion, is no respecter of persons. Many races have contributed to the advancement of medicine. But it is significant to note that, as stated in an article in *The Nation* for June 18, 1938, digitalis was discovered by a Jew, Ludwig Traube. Insulin was discovered by a Jew, Mikowsky. The treatment for typhus is the work of two Jews, Widal and Weill. The use of pyramidon and antipyris for headache and of chloral-hydrate for convulsions are the discoveries of Jewish scientists.

To bar medical students of any race or religion from our universities is therefore not only un-American. It is also unsocial, uncivilized and short-sighted.

To admit these students to American medical colleges will be one way of witnessing to all the world our faith in American democracy. This will be one way of saying to all mankind that here in free America we intend to keep our freedom, to defend our rights, to have nothing to do with spreading the Commu-nazi germ of intolerance and human degradation. We are determined never to retreat one step. We are fully determined to advance in our fight to extend the blessings of a free people to all who would know freedom.

PROPAGANDA TERMITES

America has been invaded. Not by an army with guns and planes and motorized units, but by the agents and supporters of the foreign, totalitarian governments. They work skillfully, quietly and often effectively. And when they spread their propaganda in the open it is always under the guise of Americanism or in the name of Christianity or in the interests of democracy.

These agents and sympathizers in America care nothing for our American democracy. They despise free speech, free press and free assembly—although they are willing enough to use them all in order to gain their end of destroying democracy and replacing it with Commu-nazism. They despise our principle of the equality of all races and classes. They hate our representative form of government and desire instead a dictatorship under which every semblance of religious and individual liberty completely disappears.

These agents, these spies and their sympathizers are everywhere, working their destruction continuously. Like termites which eat into the stout timbers of a strong house until they have destroyed it, these Nazi and Communist agents, spies and sympathizers in America are undermining our democratic institutions, our churches, our schools, our trade unions and our homes.

At present their main weapon is their pernicious and poisonous propaganda. By means of it the Communists

and the Nazis fervently desire to make Americans think their thoughts and echo their words about the blessings of the Commu-nazi system, about the justification of the Nazi persecution of the Jews and the Communist liquidation of all opposition parties; about the justification of wanton aggression by both Russia and Germany against Poland. By means of the same propaganda these Commu-nazis spread their falsehoods and half-truths about our democratic form of government so that Americans will become confused and suspicious of one another and of their government; so that they will be easy victims of the Commu-nazis when the moment arrives to strike out against democratic government here, as they have already done elsewhere.

But these propaganda termites are reckoning without their host. They do not know the American people. They do not know that we love our form of government, our institutions, our churches, our schools, our homes and all else that means America to you and to me—our belief in racial and religious tolerance, our belief in fair play, our belief in civil liberties and individual freedom. The Commu-nazis in our midst do not know this. They will, however, find out how fiercely Americans love their freedom and their country; how neither terrorism nor fear can subdue us; how America is the rock against which their Commu-nazism will be dashed to pieces.

At the moment, however, I feel compelled to plead with you all to take the threat of the Commu-nazi propaganda termites seriously. I plead with you not to make the mistake that the people of Europe have made by supposing that the foreign agents in our country do not mean business. They mean to undermine American democracy

for their foreign leaders. I plead with you to take seriously the threat to American democracy of a man like Father Coughlin. I plead with you to take seriously the threat to American democracy of organizations belonging to the Un-Christian Front: the German-American Bund, the Christian Mobilizers, the Coughlinites, the Knights of the White Camellia. I plead with you to take seriously the danger to our democracy of the Communist Party in America and their fellow-travelers.

So that we may see clearly the methods of the propaganda termites let us consider the activities of the German-American Bund, the Coughlinites and the Communists.

In four recent issues of *Liberty Magazine*, beginning on September 23 and running through October 14, 1939, a startling and clear-cut exposé of the Nazi German-American Bund was printed by a reporter for that magazine who had joined the Bund and become a Storm Trooper in it.

This reporter revealed what everybody has suspected—that the German-American Bund is nothing less than the representative of Adolf Hitler in America. He showed that the Nazi Secret Police, the Gestapo, have two thousand secret agents in the United States "ready to operate openly with the German government and army, always with the fixed purpose of breaking public morale outside the fatherland, through malefactions which under American law are punishable by jail and death."

Here we have the amazing spectacle of a foreign government, with whom we are at peace, deliberately maintaining a secret force in our own country with the avowed purpose of overthrowing the American government and of destroying American democracy. This is an intolerable

situation. American liberty has been won at too great a cost by our forefathers for us who are their sons to put up with this despicable attack upon our freedom by the German-American Bund or by anyone else.

The *Liberty Magazine* article states further that the Bund's purpose is "first, the creation of American good will for the Germany of Adolf Hitler. If this fails, then the program of violence will begin, with the single aim of replacing the Stars and Stripes with the Swastika." The pledge of the Storm Troopers of the Bund reveals more forcibly how closely this alien organization, bent upon the destruction of America, is allied with Adolf Hitler. Here is the Storm Trooper's pledge: "I pledge faithfulness to my leader Adolf Hitler. I promise respect and obedience to him and to all those superiors appointed by him whom I know or whom I will recognize by their insignia, and I pledge myself to fulfill without hesitation and with the utmost care all orders given, knowing that my leaders do not demand anything unlawful from me."

The fact that in America anyone can take such a pledge as that is enough to make one's blood boil. Not a word in this pledge about loyalty to the American flag or the American government or the American Constitution! Not a word about these things which are dear to every American citizen! But plenty of words about allegiance to Adolf Hitler and a foreign government whose every objective is the denial of American ideals of tolerance, freedom and justice. If there be any doubt about this, the words of Hitler himself are enough to dispel it. For Hitler has declared that "every piece of earth where a German has settled thus becomes German soil." And these are the people who utter foul names at Americans of Jewish origin. These are

the people who speak in the name of a Christian America. These are the people who have the effrontery to believe that Americans will follow them!

Fortunately, most Americans of German origin do not believe this. They are as loyal as any of our citizens. But they are under constant pressure and threat by the Gestapo to change their allegiance from the United States to Nazi Germany. So it is that the Nazi Undersecretary of State, one Herr Bohle, "leader of the Germans abroad and Fritz Kuhn's immediate superior, told his visitors from America that in the World War 300,000 Americans of German descent took up arms against the fatherland." Then he shouted, *"That must not occur again!"*

We long for peace for America, a continuous freedom from entanglement in any European war. We pray that this nation may remain a haven for peace and freedom when a war-torn Europe, free from Commu-nazism, returns to the work of civilization. However, while we pursue the path of peace, we will not tolerate interference in our internal affairs. What Americans do is the business of America. We do not need, and we do not want, any dictation from abroad from any quarter. But that is the way of the propaganda termites who, by soft words, by threats and intimidations seek to win Americans from their loyalty to free America, to loyalty to despotic Nazi Germany. This, too, we will not tolerate.

In view of these things we shall likewise find it impossible to accept calmly the spreading of Nazi propaganda by Father Coughlin. It cannot be denied that he has spread it both in his radio addresses and in his magazine *Social Justice.*

It was Father Coughlin who did not hesitate to adopt

the Nazi method of creating a following by painting Communism as horrible—as it truly is. It was Father Coughlin who, in true Nazi fashion, placed the responsibility for Communism on the Jewish people and thereby sought to stir up hatred against them. Konrad Heiden in his book, *The New Inquisition,* shows that in order to win the masses the Nazis determined to stir them up. That to stir them up the Nazis showed them a supposed enemy. This supposed enemy was the Jew. The proof that Father Coughlin sought to do the same thing and partially succeeded is too clearly seen in the way in which his followers have understood him. They have done all that they could to spread hatred against American Jews. They are admittedly anti-Semitic. And Father Coughlin cannot escape his responsibility for this state of affairs in America.

But he did more. When he wanted to point the way to recovery from the depression he could find no better example than Nazi Germany. (*Social Justice,* September 21, 1936.) When he wanted to give advice to American farmers he had to point again to agricultural conditions in Nazi Germany. (*Social Justice,* September 21, 1936.) When he wanted to draw his picture of ideal industrial organization he asked for the curtailment of individualism, the licensing of factories and the limiting of their output. (December 2, 1934.) This, as he should have told his listeners, is the very method that Hitler is using to regiment German industry.

Father Coughlin pays too much attention to Nazism as a desirable way of life for us to doubt his Nazi leanings. But all of this is as nothing compared to his blatant statement in *Social Justice* for February 20, 1939, when he said

that America ought to appeal for missionaries to those whom he termed "Christian dictators in other lands." He may not know it, but America is already being visited by too many of those missionaries. And their missionary activity is to make Americans traitors to their country, to instil hatred in Americans for Americans, to use democratic privileges such as free speech to destroy democracy and religion and human decency.

There is another aspect of this matter that we cannot overlook. It is the practice of the Communists in America to hide their undemocratic machinations by aligning themselves with organizations which are supposed to stand for democracy.

The Communists in America are not interested in American democracy. They are the representatives here of Stalin as the Nazis are of Hitler. As Stalin does, so do the Communists in America. Thus, three months before the Hitler-Stalin pact was signed, the *Daily Worker*, official Communist organ, had denied that any such thing was possible. At that time all Communists were supposed to be enemies of all Nazis. At that time the Communist line in America was in favor of repealing the neutrality act and of lifting the arms embargo because, it was thought, this would injure the Nazis—who were supposed to be the enemies of the Communists. But when Stalin agreed to supply Hitler with necessary raw materials, the Communists in America followed the lead of their head in Russia and took up an isolationist position—presumably because this would aid the Nazis, who were now acknowledged as their friends. The question here, as all along the line with the Communists, was not "What is good for America and democracy?" but "What is good for Stalin

and Communism?"

These same Communists in America have for years defended Stalin's blood purges, his mockery of justice and civil liberties, his crushing of freedom and minority opinion. In other words, they have defended Communism against Democracy.

When, therefore, they ask to join with Americans who believe in civil liberties and democratic procedures and ideas, it is not because they love democracy. It is because they desire to penetrate as many organizations as possible in order that they might eventually surrender America to Stalin and Communism.

Americans, surely, by this time know this. And Americans who wish to preserve democracy from Communist propaganda will do so by refusing once and for all to be partners with them under any circumstances. We can no more hope to promote democracy and civil liberties at a united front conference with Communists than we can hope to promote law enforcement at a united front conference of honest citizens with men like Dillinger and Dutch Schultz.

But the fact that they do try to find their way into all sorts of united front organizations is but another indication of how the propaganda termites bore into the foundations of American life—with one purpose, and one purpose only: to destroy those foundations and on their ruins to build their cruel, inhuman and undemocratic totalitarian State.

In this hour when all that we have worked for and suffered for in America is threatened, we cannot stand by and watch the structure of the most enlightened government in the world weakened before the attack of foreign

governments, aided and abetted by some of our own citizens who have forgotten the American heritage and who would exchange it for Communism or Nazism.

Long ago America made a promise to all mankind. Long ago America promised that here men would find freedom from oppression and intolerance and bigotry. Long ago America promised that here the rights of men to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness would be respected and that these rights would in no sense be taken from them. Long ago America promised that, although all the world should forget these things, she would not. And so throughout the years America has been a beacon in a world grown all too dark, guiding oppressed mankind from the four corners of the world to this land of decency and humanity. It is our calling in this generation to make that promise good once more. And there is only one way in which we can do it. That is by remaining true to America and Americanism, by denying any allegiance to any foreign ism and by staunchly opposing all the enemies of democracy within America with all of our strength, with all of our heart and with all of our mind.

THE SINS OF COUGHLINISM

Recently Father Coughlin's magazine, *Social Justice*, carried an announcement advising its readers that October 25th is Father Coughlin's birthday and that *Social Justice* groups should observe the day by holding appropriate social functions and enlisting support for Coughlinism in the name of "God, country and social justice." The announcement appeals to those who are following Father Coughlin as the one who is leading them toward "a better America." It also speaks of 1940 as the year of a "revived Americanism"—presumably Father Coughlin's kind.

And so it is fitting that we should consider what kind of Americanism this is for which Coughlinism is aiming in 1940.

First, it ought to be said that so long as Father Coughlin confined himself to a program that did not attack any fundamental American belief or practice, such as racial tolerance, the American people listened to him. They agreed or disagreed with him, but by and large they did not regard him, as they now do, as a menace to American tolerance, freedom and justice.

When, however, following Hitler's tactics in Germany, Father Coughlin began his unwarranted attack upon American citizens of Jewish origin; when he imported Nazi propaganda into America; when he quoted from Nazi sources to prove his contentions; when he based his

statements upon documents that either do not exist or which are forgeries; when, as a result of all this, he served as an encouragement to such admittedly anti-Semitic organizations as the Un-Christian Front and the Christian Mobilizers; when, week by week, his bias in favor of fascism became more clear; when finally, by these means, he had made it appear that Christianity had something in common with race hatred—then and only then did Americans arise to the defense of Americanism against Coughlinism. Then and only then did Christians arise to defend the good name of Christianity against the defamation with which Coughlinism was covering it.

Americans have arisen to defend Americanism against Coughlinism because they know that our democracy cannot exist on the basis of racial hatred and persecution. They have recognized this attempt of Coughlinism to arouse hatred of the Jews as a Nazi trick to divide our people and thereby to cause such confusion as to make democracy unworkable. Christians have arisen to defend Christianity against Coughlinism because they know that Christ, whose birth the angels announced with "peace on earth, good will towards men," teaches man to love his neighbor as himself; that He is the friend of the oppressed, not their oppressor; and that the mission of Christianity in the world is to unite men in charity and peace, not to divide them by false propaganda and hatred.

But Coughlinism, failing to recognize this rising tide of opposition by Americans and Christians, goes its way, still preaching race hatred and still leaning heavily toward fascism. Its kind of Americanism is one with fascist persecution and brutality, one with fascist regimentation of capital and labor; and this, despite the fact that it knows

how the Church has been throttled and its voice stilled wherever it has come into conflict with the fascist dictators in foreign lands.

In *Social Justice* for October 2, 1939, Mr. Ben Marcin contributes an article on Father Coughlin that is filled with such gross anti-Semitism as to lend itself to but one interpretation. That interpretation is that *Social Justice* deliberately seeks to stir up violent hatred against the Jewish people. He repeats many of the old canards against the Jews, but, although this is bad enough, it is not as bad as his concerted attempt—made over and over again—to make Christians regard Jews as their enemies.

Thus he states what is demonstrably a wicked lie, "that official Jewry from the time of Christ has been on the wrong side of the religious and social questions of the ages." If this really means that all Jews have not become Christians, I, as a Christian, defend their right to remain true to the Jewish faith if they please. And as an American I further defend that right on the ground that in America every man may worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience.

This recent *Social Justice* article by Mr. Marcin is the ugliest, most shameless effort to villify a noble people that I have ever read. Because I classify it with language not fit to be used, I will save decent, liberty-loving Americans from the embarrassment of further quotations. Again and again this author demonstrates that Coughlinism seeks to align Christians against Jews. Not only is this a sacrilege as far as Christianity is concerned. It is an act calculated to destroy our basic unity upon which our American prosperity and peace depend. It is sinful and eternally wrong. It is one of the sins of Coughlinism against which

the American people have to defend themselves.

Mr. Marcin stoops to the use of a ridiculous but unfortunately familiar anti-Semitic notion, that because Jews are not Christians, they are naturalists and therefore under "the leadership of Satan." This is the heart of the sinful, anti-Semitic propaganda accepted by Coughlinism. This is the way of Coughlinism to besmirch the name of an honorable and ancient people whose contribution to civilization has been incalculable, whose Scriptures have been the moral teacher of mankind, and from whom came Christ and His apostles. This is the way of Coughlinism to blot out of our memories the untold ways in which the Jewish people of America have cooperated with Christians in civic enterprises, in philanthropic movements, in political reform and even in building Christian institutions.

From the publication, *The Voice of Human Rights*, I quote the following: "Jewish citizens of Stamford, Connecticut, were among the principal contributors to the $250,000 building fund raised during the past year for St. Joseph's Catholic Hospital in this city. Another Christian church was the gainer in Utica, New York, where the property of South Congregational Church was saved from mortgage foreclosure when Temple Beth El organized a mass meeting at which Jewish residents of Utica contributed a substantial sum for immediate payment of the church mortgage."

I submit to you that people who help build and save Christian institutions are not the enemies of Christianity. They are its friends.

But Coughlinism, the enemy of American democracy, must try to spoil all this. For it knows that cooperation

such as this between American citizens of different religions will make for a strong and peaceful democracy. They know that a strong and peaceful democracy is the eternal victor over a brutal and oppressive fascism. And fascism is the inspiration of Coughlinism—fascism with its suppression of civil rights, its suppression of religion and its destruction of tolerance and democracy. Let it be said and resaid that this is what Coughlinism means by Americanism. This is the leadership that Father Coughlin offers us, to bring us to what he hopes will be a better America. And let it be said and resaid that this is the sin of Coughlinism—the sin against Americanism and the sin against Christianity!

What American patriot ever lived and fought for the liberty of all Americans from oppression who would not blush with shame at reading such pronouncements as these in *Social Justice?* And what Christian missionary ever yet sought to extend the kingdom of God by calling men of another religion "anti-Christ" and by placing them "under the leadership of Satan"?

Recall the kindly, the gentlemanly, the Christian words of George Washington to the Hebrew Congregation in Newport, Rhode Island—and compare them with the unkind and intolerant utterances of the Coughlinites and the other followers of the Un-Christian Front. And ask yourself which will make for a better America? Compare Abraham Lincoln's words, "with charity for all, with malice toward none, with firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right, let us bind up the nation's wounds." Compare this plea of Abraham Lincoln for peace and unity among Americans with the plea of the Coughlinites for bitterness and disunion. And ask yourself which will make

for a better America? Recall the words of Christ that to love one's neighbor as oneself is second only to the commandment to love God. Recall his parable of the Good Samaritan which is an illustration of the commandment to love one's neighbor—and compare this with the hatred and the villification of our neighbors by Coughlinism and its followers. See on the one hand Christianity in its beauty. See on the other, Coughlinism. And ask yourself which will make for a better America!

Once again, let it not be supposed that Coughlinism has lost any of its fervor for nazism even though nazism and communism have joined forces by means of the Hitler-Stalin pact. Dr. J. S. Barnes, writing in *Social Justice* October 9, 1939, states the position of Coughlinism as favoring a Nazi victory in the present war. He says that "the causes of liberty and democracy are not really at stake at all." He makes the absurd assertion, by now familiar to all who know the jargon of Coughlinism, that in reality the Nazi and fascist regimes are more democratic than the liberal ones—meaning the democratic regimes. He blandly excuses the curtailment of liberty in Germany and Italy on the ground that these countries have been passing through a revolutionary period—the assumption being that soon freedom will blossom as the rose in the fascist countries.

Dr. J. S. Barnes should be told that he misunderstands the nature of what is going on. We do not see in the dictator countries any intention ever to restore freedom to the people. The kind of revolution with which we are dealing in Russia, Germany and Italy is not the revolution which curtails liberty for the moment in order to grant more of it later. We see in the totalitarian revolution a hatred of and

a disbelief in freedom as well as in the democratic form of government. We see the stultification of science and art; the destruction of religion and the dismemberment of the home—all in the interests of the all-powerful dictatorship.

And for the victory of forces such as these Coughlinism stands. For them it pleads with the American people, and in their behalf it states in the words of Dr. Barnes in *Social Justice* that "for the Church . . . a victory for the Axis would be less harmful than a victory for the Allies." He goes further and claims that "although the pagan movement in Germany is in opposition to Christianity, it [Nazism] is the ally of Christianity against the atheism, agnosticism and religious indifference which are eating out the heart of Christianity in the great democracies."

This is a ridiculous statement which only blind admiration for nazism could possibly force one to make. When we recall the imprisonment of pastors and the stoning of priests in Nazi Germany; the confiscation of church property and the closing of seminaries, to say nothing of the virulent and obscene denunciation of Christianity by Nazi leaders and the exaltation by them of nazism as a religion, we are compelled to ask how anyone who pretends to defend Christianity can possibly speak of pagan nazism as "an ally of Christianity." Added to this is the fact, known to even the casual observer, that the only countries in the world today where religion is safe, where the church is respected and where the ethical principles of Christ are observed at all are the democratic countries. Totalitarianism is the enemy of all religions. Democracy is their friend. Yet Coughlinism takes its stand on the side of totalitarianism, on the side of nazism, the sworn enemy of Christian-

ity and all religion.

This is what it would be like to import into America the kind of Americanism that Coughlinism favors. This is the nature of the revolution of Coughlinism. This is the end toward which it looks as it hopes for a better America. This is the sin of Coughlinism: *that it undermines American democracy and speaks well of those who are the enemies of religion.*

And as you think of this kind of America which the followers of Father Coughlin hope for on his birthday, think also of the America of our Secretary of State, Cordell Hull, whose birthday is celebrated the same month, and who said recently that the peoples of America "hold maintenance of and respect for human rights and individual liberties as essential to progress of mankind and worthy civilization."

When you think of the unabashed approval of nazism by Coughlinism on that day, think also of that great American president, Theodore Roosevelt, whose birthday is celebrated the same month, and who said, "We don't wish any hyphenated Americans. . . . For an American citizen to vote as a German-American, Irish-American or an English-American, is to be a traitor to American institutions. . . . If you don't act on the theory that every man who in good faith assumes the duties and responsibilities of an American citizen in a spirit of true Americanism is an American, and is to be treated as such, you are yourselves unfit to take part in managing our government."

Think also of the work of a great American philosopher and educator, Professor John Dewey of Columbia University, whose eightieth birthday we have just celebrated. He brought democracy to our educational system. He demon-

strated the wisdom of the democratic way of living, of respecting others in terms of equality with ourselves, and of thinking together to solve our common problems. This is the work of an American leading us toward a better America. And his leadership, like the leadership of the other great Americans, has nothing in common with Coughlinism, with its racial hatred, its confusion and its admiration of Nazi ways.

Today as we work for the better America that is yet to be, we do not keep our eyes on Nazi Germany as the pattern for our life. We keep our eyes on the good and noble American tradition of justice and tolerance and human decency. We do more. We pray for a true social justice, in the words of the Book of Common Prayer, "Almighty God, who has created man in Thine own image; grant us grace fearlessly to contend against evil and to make no peace with oppression; and, that we may reverently use our freedom, help us to employ it in the maintenance of justice among men and nations."

THE DEFAMERS OF CHRISTIANITY

Today we witness the gigantic battle between those who believe in God, justice and truth and those who deny God, justice and truth. In this battle nothing is more important than that the believers in God should let their words and acts conform to their profession. We must be on guard against the hypocrisy of men who say they believe in God but who deny God through words and acts of hatred and violence.

True Christians make their acts reflect their belief. They cannot deal in race hatred and violence in the name of Christianity. They must oppose race hatred and violence in the name of Christianity. Christians who indulge in anti-Semitism are denying Christ. They are exponents of a Christ-less Christianity. They are defaming the religion of Christ and thereby taking the side of those who deny God, justice and truth.

All Christians and all Americans should be aware of the defamation that the good name of Christianity is suffering today in America at the hands of those who use the name of Christianity to introduce into this new world the Commu-nazism of the old. And being aware of it, Christians must not permit Americans to be deceived into believing that the Coughlinites, the Un-Christian Front or the Christian Mobilizers speak in the name of Christianity.

One does not have to be a theologian or an expert in Christian doctrine to know this. Everyone should know

that the religion of Christ is a religion of peace and justice among men. Everyone should know that the religion of Christ can never have any part with hatred and barbarism and persecution. A Christian cannot pray in the morning that God's kingdom may come and His will be done on earth as it is in heaven, and in the evening take part in a meeting of the Un-Christian Front with its hatred and villification of our neighbors, with its preachments of violence and discord and with its actions that have stirred such strife in our streets as was never seen before.

How can any true American use weasel words in explanation of the actions of the Coughlinites and the members of the Un-Christian Front? We denounce them as contributing to the defamation of Christianity in the same way and for the same reasons that we denounce Communism and Nazism for their defamation of Christianity and of all religions.

In a publication called *The Christian Mobilizer* for September 23, 1939, there appears a report of a meeting held on August 23rd in New York City of those who are described as "Christian Americans." At this meeting George Deatherage of the Knights of the White Camellia spoke. So did Fritz Kuhn of the German-American Bund. Both lauded the purposes of the Christian Mobilizers, and Kuhn declared that the Bund, too, "was a similar force for Americanism."

The presence of Mr. Kuhn at a rally of so-called "Christian Americans" is enough to label the meeting a defamation of Christianity. For Mr. Kuhn is definitely pro-Nazi. And Nazism is definitely anti-Christian. Mr. Kuhn's kind of Americanism is decidedly colored by Nazi paganism which teaches its youth to sing, "Let Christ rot; the Hitler

youth marches on." Mr. Kuhn is the kind of American who has been honored by the Nazis in Germany; who has said, "We feel ourselves bound together with Germany and are fortunate to belong to such an organization"; who also said, "We will endure everything and will continue to fight on, so that we may establish our Germany." Mr. Kuhn is the kind of American who spreads hatred between Christians and Jews exactly as his leader, Adolf Hitler, does in Germany.

Yet this man, whose Nationalist Socialist leaders despise Christianity and make no pretense about it, this man is a welcome guest speaker at a rally of those who call themselves "Christian Americans." This is more than Christians can endure. In a world which attacks the most cherished ideals of mankind from all sides; in a world which seeks to exalt materialism and to dethrone God; in a world which calls forth the most primitive and brutal instincts in men, Christians cannot endure the spectacle of men who call themselves by the name of Christ taking part in that attack upon our ideals, taking part in that attempt to exalt materialism and dethrone God, taking part in calling forth the most primitive and brutal instincts of men.

Yet when the Christian Mobilizers join with the Nazis that is what they are doing. They defame Christianity. They disgrace the religion of Christ.

At the same meeting Joseph McWilliams, the leader of the Christian Mobilizers, was, according to his own paper, enthusiastically cheered when he said, "We must learn to hate all Roosevelts and La Guardias because they represent the interests of internationalism and communism, and these are to us synonymous with world Jewry."

These are not the words of a man who is fighting the

battle of Christianity. His words do not merely hint at hatred. They openly and fervently call for it. This is his program: to make Christians hate. To make Christians hate fellow Christians like Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. La Guardia and to make them hate American Jews.

Again we cannot use weasel words to express our attitude toward the defamers of Christianity. We denounce them. Every Christian will disown them. For every Christian, and every non-Christian as well, who knows anything about Christianity knows that the purpose of Christ's religion is to convert us from hatred to love, to the love even of our enemies.

I ask you to compare Mr. McWilliams' words of hate with Christ's words in the Sermon on the Mount, "I say unto you, love your enemies; do good to them that hate you, and pray for them which despitefully use you and persecute you." I ask you to recall that the first prayer of a Christian child is the "Our Father," in which is found the petition, known wherever Christianity is known, "And forgive us our trespasses as we forgive those who trespass against us." This is Christ's religion, the religion of Christ which you know, the religion of Christ which the Christian Mobilizers defame.

Christians have a right and a duty to oppose those with whom they do not agree. But they have no right and no duty to hate them, or to try to make others hate them. I ask you to compare Mr. McWilliams' words of hate with the words of Pope Pius XII who in his recent encyclical said, "At the head of the road which leads to the spiritual and moral bankruptcy of the present day stands the nefarious efforts of not a few to dethrone Christ; the abandonment of the law of truth which He proclaimed and of the

law of love which is the life breath of His kingdom."

In this defense of Christianity against its defamers we are not alone. Countless numbers of Christians all over America are arising to disclaim any connection between Christianity and the program of the Coughlinites and the members of the Un-Christian Front. Thus it is that the publication, *The Voice for Human Rights*, in its September, 1939 issue exposes the un-Christian activities of the Un-Christian Front. *The Voice* describes this activity as "a mass movement of intolerance, hatred and persecution masquerading under the glorious name of 'Christian.'" *The Voice* says of the Un-Christian Front that "it feeds upon anti-Semitism" and "shows an alarming disposition to imitate the methods and ideology of the German racists." Yes, happily, we are not alone in defending Christianity against its defamers.

Again, *Christian Social Action*, described as a monthly magazine edited and owned by Catholic laymen, has recently investigated the activity of the defamers of Christianity who are members of such groups as the Christian Front, the Christian Mobilizers, the Christian Index, the Christian Labor Front and the Christian Vigilantes. This paper, too, takes the position of true Christianity when it states, "Catholicism and anti-Semitism can have nothing in common. . . . These Christian Front groups have engaged in street fighting and have publicly attacked Jews because they are Jews. . . . As such, this group must meet with the condemnation of every American citizen and every Catholic." Indeed, I am not alone in defending Christianity against its defamers.

And it was Bishop Robert E. Lucey, Roman Catholic Bishop of Amarillo, who said, "The natural law demands

that all human rights be afforded to all human beings. As the interpreter of the natural law the Church insists that human rights are God-given and she demands that the rights of the Jew, as a human being and our brother in God, shall not be made a mockery. Anti-Semitism either denies the right of the Church so to interpret the natural law or flouts her ancient teaching in that regard."

No, we are not alone in defending Christianity against the defamers of Christianity. We are not alone in denouncing the un-Christian activities of the Un-Christian Front. Neither are we alone in concluding that Father Coughlin has done more than his share to fan the flames of racial and religious hatred in America; or that he is inclined toward Nazism; or that his magazine, *Social Justice*, is a living monument to the defamation of Christianity by reason of its violation of the principle of human brotherhood.

If this be not true, what madness is it that makes him identify the Jews with everything that he dislikes? What but anti-Semitism makes him, without proof, identify the Jews with Communism which he dislikes? What but anti-Semitism makes him, without proof, identify the Jews with the international bankers whom he dislikes? What but anti-Semitism makes him say, again without proof, that the Jews were responsible for the economic and social ills of Germany? Others can discuss these matters without any reference to any particular race or religion. Others can discuss them on their merits. Why cannot Father Coughlin?

How perverse and how wrong it is for the followers of Father Coughlin to reduce Christianity to the level of race hatred! How un-Christian it is of them to force a

wedge between Christians and Jews! How opposed to the best interests of religion it is, at a time when all the believers in God must stand together!

Of all those in the history of the world who have upheld the sovereignty and the honor of the one true God, no people takes precedence over the Jews. Belief in God came through them. It was perpetuated by them. It was passed on to the Church from them. The Ten Commandments and the law to love God and to love one's neighbor comes fresh and strong from the very heart of them. You can see it today—taught in Jewish synagogues and temples, practiced by Jewish charities in behalf of both Jews and Gentiles. You can see it today in Jewish fraternal orders, as when the members of B'nai Brith are reminded of their motto: "Benevolence, brotherly love and harmony"; when, further, the members of this Jewish order are admonished that these principles must be observed not only in the lodge but in everyday life; when, finally, the help of God is implored to strengthen them in caring for the oppressed, the sick, the widow and the orphan.

Jews and Christians are so bound together by their belief in God and their service to man as to make them the best of friends. And so they are—until ambitious trouble-makers come between them. Trouble-makers who admire totalitarianism and want to introduce it into America. Trouble-makers who cannot produce a single truthful fact to prove their case against the Jews. Trouble-makers who have to rely on anti-Semitic Nazi propaganda. Trouble-makers who spread hatred, who resort to violence, who destroy our unity—but, most nefarious of all, trouble-makers who do this in the name of a Christ-less Christi-

anity. Trouble-makers who are the defamers of true Christianity.

If the defamers of Christianity do not like this description of them, we would remind them that they made the issue. We did not. But we would also remind them that, since they have made the issue, it will be fought in the defense of Christianity until anti-Semitism has disappeared as the scourge of our American life. It will be fought not with hatred, to be sure, but with great determination nevertheless.

We cannot think of the un-Christian attitude of hostility toward the Jews by those who defame Christianity without thinking of the attitude of Pope Pius XII toward non-Catholics of good will. In his recent encyclical the Pope said of them, "We wish to express our gratitude to them all. We entrust them one and all to the protection and to the guidance of the Lord, and we assure them solemnly that one thought only fills our mind: To imitate the example of the Good Shepherd in order to bring true happiness to all men." These are the words of a Christian and they are most welcome at this time.

We cannot forget that on All Saints' Day, when many of us go to Mass, we thank God for the witness of the Saints to Christian truth. We cannot forget that no Christian Saint has ever been canonized except he exercised in his life Christian virtue to an heroic degree—Christian virtue, the foundation of which is love for God and love for man. We cannot forget those lesser lights in the Christian firmament such as Charles Kingsley, who left a comfortable life to serve the underprivileged among the English masses; or David Livingstone, who gave up a promising future in Scotland to fight for the enslaved

people in Africa; or Florence Nightingale, who went to the Crimea to nurse the wounded and the suffering in the Crimean War. We cannot forget that all of them were prompted by the love of God and the love of man—that none of them gave place to hatred.

We cannot forget that Nurse Edith Cavell gave her life during the last war because the great charity in her heart led her to endanger her life that she might help Belgian and French and English wounded prisoners. We cannot forget that, as she faced the firing squad, her last words, so true to the Christian tradition as to be immortal, were, "As I stand before God and eternity I know that patriotism is not enough. I must have no hatred in my heart toward anyone."

We cannot forget these things. Men forever will remember them. And when they teach their children the way of truth they will teach them the things for which these people stood. For men will always know that the way of life is the way of love, that the only hope for society is the hope upon which all true religion is based, the realization of the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of men.

FATHER COUGHLIN'S DISCIPLES

The disciples of Coughlinism profess to favor Father Coughlin's program and give him their support. Of course they have a right to do this; but if, as the result of what they do and say, we conclude that they are opposed to American democracy and that they violate the teachings of Christianity, then we must conclude, too, that their leader has some responsibility for their un-American and un-Christian words and deeds, for pupils learn from their teacher.

I receive letters continually from those who attempt to defend their master. These letters of the Coughlinites discredit them in the eyes of all Americans who value fairness, tolerance and good will. And I am of the opinion that if Father Coughlin could read them he would be ashamed of them as I am. Yet they are defending him and his program. Much of what they say is an echo of much that he has taught them.

So it is that from Fall River, Massachusetts, comes a letter from one A. S. T. It is full of racial hatred. It talks of "international bankers and war-mongers" who, the writer says, are mostly Jews. It speaks of General Moseley's testimony before the Dies Committee and the forged Protocols of the Elders of Zion. But where did this man learn these things? Where have we heard of international bankers and war-mongers before? Who has identified them, falsely, with the Jews? Who has used General

Moseley's testimony before the Dies Committee? And who has tried to make a case for the forged Protocols of the Elders of Zion? Who—in all of America—has made these things the passwords of his followers? The writer of this letter of hatred and bitterness knows where he learned his lesson. He mentions the source: from Father Coughlin's broadcasts on Sunday afternoon and from *Social Justice*, Father Coughlin's magazine.

Another Coughlinite letter comes from New York City. It is signed, "A Christian Mother." It, too, reflects the familiar teaching of Coughlinism—the fallacious argument that Jews are the enemies of Christians; the labored attempt to make Jewry and Communism one and the same thing. And this letter from "A Christian Mother" ends by stating "I seal your letter with the kiss of death." I am inclined to let this pass without comment. I am inclined to believe that others feel, as I do, a profound pity for this poor woman, and a deep sense of shame that America has lived to see the day when simple souls like her should become the victims of the teachings of Coughlinism.

We have always had with us the prototype of people who write such letters—people who live on hatred and bitterness, people who console themselves by blaming all of their misfortune on somebody else. They are the same kind of people as the "Know-Nothings" who terrorized Roman Catholics during the nineteenth century because they hated Roman Catholicism. They are the same kind of people as those who in the last century stirred up trouble for the Irish on the false charge that these new American citizens from Ireland were taking away their jobs. They are the same kind of people who, as the Ku

Klux Klan, rode about the country only a few years ago persecuting the Jews, the Negroes and the Roman Catholics. As these un-American groups attracted the prejudiced and the malcontents of the past, so Coughlinism attracts them in the present. We shall probably always have them with us—to our shame. They are people who cannot respond to reason, who will not see the truth. People who will ever be ready to follow any troublemaker who may attain popularity for the moment, at the expense of others and to the embarrassment of our democracy. To these disciples of Coughlinism I make no attempt to appeal.

There are others, however, to whom I do appeal most urgently. For the moment they are disciples of Coughlinism, to be sure. They are sincere in believing that Father Coughlin's program is what it pretends to be. And they are amenable to reason. Yes, to these disciples of Coughlinism I would appeal. With them I would plead in the name of Christianity and Americanism.

I would ask these sane disciples of Coughlinism to consider first the charge that Father Coughlin has no love for American democracy. His admiration is directed entirely toward the dictator countries. He loses no opportunity to disparage democracy, even as the Communists and the Nazis lose no opportunity to disparage democracy.

Thus, on December 7, 1936, Father Coughlin warmly praised Adolf Hitler both as a man and also as the creator of a great nation. On February 13, 1939, *Social Justice* compared the democracies unfavorably with the fascist dictatorships, making it appear, just as Hitler tries to make it appear, that fascism solves all problems whereas democracy fails to do so.

Here is where I would ask the sensible disciples of

Coughlinism to be on their guard. It may be true, for instance, that there is no so-called unemployment in Germany. But neither was there unemployment in the Egypt of the Pharaohs, where men slaved till their backs broke to build the pyramids which are all that remain of a kingdom that perished from the very evil of its injustices. And in Germany today this is the kind of employment that ends unemployment. It is the kind of employment that took from the workers their right to organize, their right to demand fair wages and their right to bargain collectively. It is the kind of employment that a slave receives from his master. It is the kind of employment for which the average German worker today receives a wage of barely ten dollars per week for seventy-two hours of work. Are these wages any better than the pitiful pittance of the oppressed worker in Bolshevik Russia?

Yet when Father Coughlin praises the dictator countries for having solved their problems, this is the kind of solution that he means. Father Coughlin does not tell his disciples, for instance, that in America one hour's wages will buy 7.5 pounds of bread whereas in Germany one hour's wages will buy only 2.5 pounds of bread. Surely, you who are sensible men, you who have been deceived by the bland promises of Coughlinism, surely you would not want to see the standard of living of American labor reduced to what it is in Hitler's Reich. Surely, you do not want to live in America under a bondage like that of ancient Egypt, under a slavery from which mankind had emancipated itself when the Communists and the Fascists arose to resurrect that dread state of society!

Nevertheless, when Father Coughlin praises the dictator countries that is what he has in mind for America.



And *They* Call Themselves Americans!

For has he not said that practically all of the sixteen principles of his Social Justice have been put into practice in Germany and Italy?

But I would plead further with the sensible, though misled, disciples of Coughlinism. I would ask them to remember that the solution of our American problems is not only a matter of dollars and cents. I would ask them to remember that there are values greater than the value of money. I would remind them of Christ's word: "Man does not live by bread alone." No! Man also thrives on justice and courage; on freedom and truth; on faith, hope and love.

Even if the economic solutions that Father Coughlin places before us opened up a wider vista of prosperity, we in America would refuse them so long as freedom and democracy were denied to us. Again let me remind you of the word of Christ: "What shall it profit a man if he gain the whole world and lose his own soul?" We in America do not want Communism, even if Communism were successful, which it is not, because we know that Communism means the destruction of the things we hold more dear than life itself—the spiritual things. We in America do not want Nazism, however seductively Father Coughlin may urge it upon us, even if Nazism were successful, which it is not, because we know that Nazism means the kind of tyranny that has ever been hateful to the soul of America. We have not won our liberties in order to sell them for a mess of potage!

Once more I would plead with the sensible disciples of Coughlinism to see how rabidly Father Coughlin desires a Commu-nazi victory in the present war; how he condones wanton aggression; how, in fact, he and the Com-

munists are now in agreement in this whole matter.

Speaking during his radio hour on November 5, 1939, Father Coughlin unleashed a violent attack on England. He asked why the Czech people should support British imperialism. Weren't they betrayed by the British imperialists at Munich? He asked why the Polish people should help the British Empire when that empire didn't send a single gun to defend them? He asked why Jews should support an empire which betrayed them in Palestine? And in addition to all this, Father Coughlin attacked Great Britain for permitting 13,000,000 Christians in one-third of Poland to be turned over to the Communists.

I ask men of reason and fair play to examine these charges. I ask you to recall Pope Pius XII's recent encyclical in which he spoke eloquently for these 13,000,000 Christians. Yet *he* did not blame England for their deplorable plight. He did, however, attack the totalitarian governments—something that Father Coughlin overlooked in his last Sunday's tirade.

As to the Munich settlement I ask you to recall that, immediately following it, Dr. J. S. Barnes, writing in Father Coughlin's magazine, praised the Munich settlement. He said, "It saved the face of both Germany, who had determined to march on October 1st, and of Czechoslovakia, who was enabled to bow to the will of Europe rather than to the will of Germany." Recall these words in *Social Justice*, and as you do so recall Father Coughlin's attempt now to place Great Britain in a position which he himself was glad to occupy less than a year ago.

But recall also that Eduard Beneš, the former President of Czechoslovakia, speaks more truly on the subject of

how the Czechs feel about Great Britain, and with greater authority than does Father Coughlin, when he calls upon his people to form a legion in England and France to fight on the side of the democracies against Nazi aggression. He knows, even if Father Coughlin doesn't, why the Czechs should support democracy. I ask you to remember also that the Polish leaders have likewise answered Father Coughlin's question by calling upon their people to fight beside the British—not against them. For they, too, know what Nazi intrigue and oppression mean—even if Father Coughlin does not.

As for the Jews, Father Coughlin is the last man in the world to speak for them. Professor Albert Einstein, the world's greatest scientist, who speaks more eloquently and with more right on this question, addressed the members of the Jewish National Alliance over Station WEVD a few months ago. He said: "And now a word about England: Remember in the midst of your justified embitterment, that England's opponents are also our bitterest enemies, and that in spite of everything, the maintenance of England's position is of utmost importance to us. Consider further that it is in the vital interest of the Arab world, too, that England's power should not be shattered by the hysterical lust for conquest of the totalitarian adventurers. This elementary fact must and will soon penetrate into the consciousness of the Arabs. We must strive, therefore, that in our ranks, reason should prevail over disappointment and embitterment."

Finally, in this connection, I ask the sensible disciples of Coughlinism to take account of the fact that no longer may it be said that Nazism is the defense mechanism against Communism. For the Nazis and the Communists

are one. Coughlinism cannot, therefore, any longer hope to hide behind the pretense of favoring Nazism because it *has* to favor it in order to defeat Communism. It never was fighting Communism—in reality. It only appeared to be. It was always in reality fighting democracy!

Consider also that now Earl Browder and Father Coughlin talk after the same fashion against the democracies. On November 5, 1939, Mr. Browder, in a speech in Boston, attacked Mr. Roosevelt. So does Father Coughlin—and for the same reasons. Mr. Browder termed the European conflict "an imperialist war" and he upbraided the international capitalists. So does Father Coughlin. Mr. Browder blamed the British and the French imperialists for continuing the war. So does Father Coughlin. It appears that when the greatest of all the Nazis in the world shook the blood-stained hand of the greatest of all the Communists in the world, the would-be commissars and the would-be fuehrers everywhere began to see eye to eye.

Therefore, with these facts in mind I ask the disciples of Coughlinism who are responsible and fair-minded to see how easy it is at last to discover the direction in which Father Coughlin would lead them. No one can now doubt his love for totalitarianism. No one can doubt his hatred for democracy. No one can now doubt his utter un-neutrality. No one can now doubt his longing for something akin to fascism for America. And everyone can now understand why he boasted with such satisfaction that most of his sixteen principles of Social Justice were already being practiced in Germany and Italy.

True Christians, who practice the Golden Rule and believe in the dignity of man, have a duty—to make democ-

racy in America strong, the protector of the weak and the champion of the underprivileged. They have a duty to throw their whole strength behind every effort to make democracy work, so that America may forever remain the land of freedom, tolerance and justice.

THE RED AND BROWN TERROR

The only form of government worth fighting for today is the democratic form. This becomes ever clearer as we learn to see through the propaganda of Communism and Nazism which presents these dictator systems as superior and as the answer to all of mankind's problems. The truth is that neither Communism nor Nazism solves any of mankind's problems. They only aggravate them, and to the troubles we already have, Communism and Nazism add new hardships and indignities.

Some Americans do not understand this. They want a Hitler or a Stalin in America. But they know not what they ask. These Americans having always known freedom do not know what life would be without it. These Americans having known tolerance do not know how unhappy life may be without it. Having known religious freedom they do not know the suffering that comes from the absence of it. Having enjoyed the right to speak freely they do not know how bitter life can be when to speak freely may mean imprisonment or death. Living under American democracy they do not understand the Communist reign of frightfulness or the Nazi rule of fear. Living under American democracy they do not know the Communist tyranny or the Nazi oppression. They do not know the red and the brown terror.

Communist Russia is not the country that the Communist propagandists in America have pictured. It never

was and it never will be. In this connection Mr. Boris Souvarine has written an illuminating book called *Stalin*, a critical survey of Bolshevism. It is a thorough piece of work by a man who was himself one of the founders of the Communist Party in France. It will repay everyone who wishes to learn the truth about Communism to read this book carefully.

In this book Mr. Souvarine shows that, contrary to the impressions in some quarters, Lenin was not the great humanitarian that his followers have tried to paint him. In the early days of the Revolution, even leading members of the Central Committee of the Party felt it necessary to resign because Lenin desired "at all costs a purely Bolshevik government without counting the number of worker and soldier victims" it might involve.

And continuing from Mr. Souvarine's book: "Gorky described the Bolsheviks as 'blind fanatics, conscienceless adventurers,' and Bolshevism as a 'national disaster.' " He described Lenin's government as an "autocracy of savages." Gorky asked "Does not Lenin send to jail all those who do not think as he does, just as the Romanovs did?" To the question, how did Bolshevism make its way in Russia in those early days, Gorky answers, "by threats of starvation and massacre for all those who do not approve of the Lenin-Trotsky despotism . . ."

And this is the method of Bolshevism, the frightful intimidation and the brutal suppression by fear and murder of all those who disagree with it. We shall remember, as we think of Mr. Browder's honeyed words, the serpent that lurks behind them, the Communist serpent that would poison and kill with its deadly bite the democracy and freedom which we cherish in America.

We may ask why then did the opponents of Russian Communism finally yield? Mr. Souvarine tells us why. It was because they did not believe that it was worth while to endure the suffering that continued opposition would have entailed. "The plain fear of being rejected by the patrician caste of Bolsheviks, of sinking among the plebeians of the Soviet, was sufficient to shake the weaker ones. The risk of uselessly exposing their innocent families to cruel reprisals sometimes broke the resolution of the strongest."

At present, the incarnation of this red terror is Josef Stalin, Mr. Browder's leader and hero. Stalin, whom even the Bolshevik Bukharin described thus, "Stalin is only interested in power. While giving way *he* has kept hold of the leadership, and later *he* will strangle us . . . Stalin knows only vengeance . . . the dagger in the back. We must remember his theory of sweet revenge."

This is Stalin in the words of one who knew him well. This is Josef Stalin, the man in Moscow, who dictates the party line for all Communists the world over. This is the hero and the master of the Communists in America. The man who believes in the theory of "sweet revenge" is the man who was described at a recent Communist meeting in New York as "the greatest leader and statesman of our times and the wisest man on the face of the earth." This is the same Stalin who decreed "war to the knife" upon the rural population of Russia when it refused to obey him. This is Stalin under whose red terror Russia has known indescribable persecution and suffering.

We might point to the results of the red terror upon industry, to the dictatorial methods in all industrial work which abolished "the theoretical rights of the workmen's

committees," to the betrayal of the proletariat, the betrayal of the very people whose rights Communism was supposed to champion. We might call attention to the destruction of freedom of religion in the land of the red terror, to the murder of countless thousands of both Christians and Jews.

Instead, however, we shall look at the savagery of Stalin's red terror as it terrorized, exiled and destroyed millions of Russian peasants and farmers. In liquidating the kulaks Stalin unleashed cruelty so barbaric as to be without parallel in the modern world. The record tells of mass arrests and executions, of suicides and assassinations, of the scattering of whole populations, of between five and ten million exiled and banished since 1929. Writes Mr. Souvarine, "It can be considered then that between five million villagers at *least*, regardless of sex and age, have been chased from their hearths and doomed to a life of iniquitous misery, many to death . . . It is impossible to know how many have perished of hunger and cold in the northern forests, in the building of great public works, and in concentration camps. But partial information gives us some idea, not precise though none the less terrible—especially of the appalling number of child victims expelled with their mothers, sometimes in the dead of night, and transported from the temperate climate of the south to glacial regions where many of these little innocents have found premature deaths through lack of shelter, of proper care and of barest necessities."

This is Russian Communism. This is the salvation that Mr. Browder tells us about. This is the system which he wants American fathers and mothers to accept in place of good and free Americanism.

And this is what the Communist agents in America want to force upon us. This is the kind of thing that they try to make effective through their activities in the popular front organizations. This is the distortion, the monstrosity, that they try to disguise as "twentieth-century Americanism." It should be more properly called ninth-century barbarism with improvements. This is the kind of thing for which Mr. Browder pleaded recently in Boston. He virtually announced that we were prepared to make the transition from Americanism to Communist oppression and cruelty and tyranny. He was wise enough to say, however, that all that kept us from making the transition was the "will of the masses to that goal." Yes, indeed, Communism in America lacks the support and the will of the masses. For the American masses love freedom and tolerance and human decency. The American masses have learned what Americanism is. They know at what cost this Americanism has been won. And they are not now ready, nor will they ever be, to exchange that Americanism for the Communism of Mr. Browder and Josef Stalin.

But we must not make the mistake that some of our citizens make in rejecting the red terror of Communism only to accept the brown terror of Nazism. For we know that one is as guilty of bad faith, of cruelty, of indecency as the other. And we know that for us democracy is both the way and the goal of American life.

We cannot, and we will not, adopt the Nazi-inspired ideas of Father Coughlin and the members of the Un-Christian Front, for we do not share in their admiration of Nazi ideas and Nazi methods. We do not boast that any of the principles that we cherish have been adopted in Nazi Germany as Father Coughlin has boasted that prac-

tically all of his sixteen principles of Social Justice have been adopted in Nazi Germany.

To all who have been misled by the pro-Nazis in America to favor Hitlerism I would call attention to a book by Hermann Rauschning. It is called *The Revolution of Nihilism*. A very able digest of this book may also be found in the *Readers' Digest* for November, 1939. Mr. Rauschning was once a leader of the National Socialist Party and president of the Senate of Danzig.

From Mr. Rauschning we learn afresh why we cannot ever accept Nazism in America and why we must emphatically reject it. We cannot accept the system which Rauschning describes as a "continuing process of revolution, whose subversive force involves the total destruction of all past values, of all spiritual standards, utter nihilism." We cannot but suspect the motives of those in America who admire the Nazis but who do not tell us that their "only objectives have been the victory of the party, supreme power for themselves in the midst of universal revolution and ultimately a complete terrorist dominance over the world."

We condemn the Nazis' inhuman treatment of Christians and Jews in Germany as belonging to the brown terror, just as we condemn the Communists' inhuman treatment of all religious groups in Russia as belonging to the red terror. We condemn the Nazis' persecution of the workers in Germany as belonging to the brown terror, just as we condemn the Communists' persecution of the peasants and workers in Russia as belonging to the red terror. And Americans will reject them both.

How amazing it is, therefore, that Father Coughlin should speak of Hitler as the champion of Christian social

order! If this statement surprises you, and you seek proof that this is the view of Father Coughlin, we refer you to his editorial on page 6 of *Social Justice* for April 11, 1938.

Rauschning, who knows the facts, even if Father Coughlin chooses to overlook them, writes that National Socialism is indifferent to the things "of the spirit, to truth, to morality or honor." What has a system like that to do with Christian social order? Rauschning writes that the doctrine of the Nazis is "violence—and force . . . applied at all times to maintain their power—applied ruthlessly, brutally, instantaneously." He writes that it is a virtual duty for the Nazi elite "to undergo training in brutality"—that "the lack of morals in civil life is not frowned upon"—that "hostility to ethical conceptions, to justice, to the intellect, to individualism and personality, to science and art . . . are but the logical outcome of the National Socialist doctrine of violence." What have violence and immorality and injustice and hostility to individualism and personality to do with Christian social order of which Father Coughlin says Hitler is the champion?

Rauschning writes that in Hitler's Germany, "should brutality produce wide discontent, there was always a public enemy to be discovered, so that collective outbursts of rage may provide diversion for private resentment." Now we can understand why the Jews are persecuted in Germany and why friendly nations are made to appear as enemies. It is not because the charges against them are true, but because they provide the means for distracting the people's minds from their own discontent. It is for this reason that the dictator turns to persecution of an innocent and helpless people and to the mass murder,

pillage and oppression of the weak which marks Hitler's warfare.

This is the brown terror, destructive of all Christian standards, destructive of all human decency, destructive of science, art and religion, the enemy of freedom and the enemy of democracy. What has this perversion of nature to do with Christian social order of which Father Coughlin says Hitler is the champion?

Does not Father Coughlin know and do not his followers know better? Do they not know that the aim of Nazism is, in the words of the Nazi Rosenberg, to make Germany "mistress of the globe"? Do they not know that the plan of the Nazis is to extend the reign of the brown terror to America? Do they not know that, by stirring up strife between American citizens as they do on the radio and at their meetings, they are attempting to create the very divisions in American life which the Nazis want in order that they may spread their terror here as they have already spread it in Europe? Will not Father Coughlin and his followers hear Mr. Rauschning as he says that "in the National Socialist view the political situation in America can be developed into an outright revolution; it is their aim to promote this in order first to hold America aloof from Europe, and then to bring North and South America into the new order"? Do they not know these things? Will they not hear? Will the Coughlinites and the members of the Un-Christian Front continue their mad, un-American policy which would betray America to the Nazi terror?

This is the time in which history is being made and the future determined, not only for America but for mankind. And we must choose. Will we choose the red and brown

terror of Stalin and Hitler, represented in America by Mr. Browder and his Communists, by Father Coughlin, Fritz Kuhn, Pelley and their followers of the Un-Christian Front? Or will we choose the ways of American democracy whose principles of justice, freedom and tolerance will lead us in the future, as they have guided us in the past to a fuller life, in which industry and science and art and religion may flourish, in which men and women and children may be more safe and more secure than they have ever been?

COUGHLINISM, LABOR AND INDUSTRY

The recent years of depression have given us more than convincing evidence that both the workingman and the industrialist are facing new problems which must be solved. All thinking people realize this. But they realize, too, that the solution must always remain within the framework of our free and democratic system. It must remain within the framework of a system which, among other things, guarantees the right of the common citizen to own property and through savings, insurance and old-age pensions to look forward to an old age of peace and security; a system which guarantees to every man the right, denied by neither conservative nor liberal, to join with his fellows for the purpose of collective bargaining, as his conscience and intelligence dictate.

It is with this in mind that we must examine the anti-labor and undemocratic proposals that Father Coughlin has offered on the radio and in his magazine.

In *Social Justice*, issue of December 14, 1936, we find this statement: "One of the most important jobs in the United States of America should be the cabinet job known as the Secretary of Labor . . . The Department of Labor should be out in every industrial city of America organizing labor, just as the Department of Commerce organizes industry."

This statement can be interpreted in only one way. It means that Father Coughlin asks that the government of

these free, democratic United States set out to force the workers of America to sign up in one single, government-controlled, bureaucratic association. We know that this same plan is today being put into practice in the three totalitarian countries of Russia, Italy and Germany. Yes, these governments have regimented their workers as Father Coughlin proposes that we do. We may ask, why must he urge Americans—Americans who have been born and bred to freedom and democracy—to follow the thorny road of both the red and the brown versions of Fascism?

It is true that Father Coughlin has denied that he is a Nazi. Yet in view of his advocacy of this regimentation of labor, what are we to think of the sincerity of his denial? Father Coughlin denies that he is a Nazi. But as recently as November 19, 1939 he stated his stand on labor in just the same way as any National Socialist of Germany might have done.

He spoke with scorn of the members of labor unions as those who pay tribute in the form of dues to labor agitators and racketeers. Apparently Father Coughlin is opposed to the practice of the payment of dues by union members. He infers that the end for which unions exist is not to defend the vital interests of working men but to carry on a racket. As any student of the labor movement knows this inference is all untrue. Every student of the labor movement knows that the only way in which labor has ever been able to gain the right to decent working conditions, better wages and shorter hours has been through the united action which labor union membership makes possible, and dues are essential to this united action.

It is true that the Nazis and the Communists do not

believe in labor unions. It seems certain that Father Coughlin does not believe in them either. But Americans *do* believe in them and in this country, under American democracy, the right of labor to organize is going to be guaranteed and protected regardless of what the Nazi agitators in America may say.

In that same broadcast Father Coughlin showed his Nazi bias with respect to labor by saying that "strikes are useless and futile though not illegal." This statement amounts to treachery to the whole cause of labor. For the right to strike, recognized for years in enlightened America, is the weapon of last resort that remains to labor in its fight for those rights which properly belong to it. The strike is, likewise, the compelling power behind collective bargaining. And collective bargaining is the only way in which labor can be fairly represented in dealing with employers. Instead of being futile, as Father Coughlin says, the strike has been used successfully countless times to obtain fairer wages, better working conditions and shorter hours. Take away the right to strike and you destroy the labor movement—something that the Nazis and Communists want to do and have done in Germany and Russia —but something which no American will tolerate for a moment.

Even while he seeks to undermine labor Father Coughlin protests his love for labor. Those who are for labor do not have to keep on calling attention to the fact. Their deeds speak for them, and prove their friendliness toward labor. It is a familiar trick of Father Coughlin's to protest his love for that which he seeks to destroy. He did it in the case of his futile attack upon the Jews. He is now doing it in what will be his equally futile attack upon organ-

ized labor.

At the time of the strike in the Chrysler plant in Michigan Father Coughlin called upon the strikers to give up, to go back to work and *then* to try to negotiate a settlement. Need I point out that this is always the appeal of the strikebreaker? Need I point out that once strikers have returned to work without having first obtained favorable commitments from employers, that the strike is lost? Need I point out that now Father Coughlin tries to assame the rôle of strike-breaker No. 1 in America just as previously he had assumed the rôle of anti-Semite No. 1?

In all of this, Father Coughlin cleverly concentrates on the C. I. O., making it appear that he is friendly toward the A. F. of L. Nobody will be fooled by this device either. Least of all the A. F. of L. They know that Father Coughlin refused to employ union labor when he had building and printing to do. They know that the A. F. of L. issued a statement condemning him for this practice. But they know, too, that his hostility to the rights of labor as they pertain to the C. I. O. applies with equal force to the rights of labor as they pertain to the A. F. of L. Whoever is against the right to strike, against the payment of dues by union members, and against collective bargaining for one group of working men is against the same rights for all working men.

Divide and conquer—that is Father Coughlin's method all along the line. It is the Nazi method, too, all along the line. Divide Christians and Jews—and so weaken democracy. Divide labor and so weaken labor—and democracy. Then, when you have weakened democracy by setting race against race and labor union against labor union, *then* destroy democracy and set up your dictator state in which

all races, all religions and all labor unions are the helpless victims of the all-powerful state. It has happened in Europe. Father Coughlin tries to make it happen here.

Father Coughlin has claimed that the Germans and the Italians have solved the problems of unemployment. Let us look at conditions in those countries which he considers models. If I were a painter, I would sweep the canvas with scarlet red for the blood that is spilled, with jet black for the murders committed in the Fascist solution of the unemployment problem! I would paint a picture of weary men marching out in the Nazi labor battalions, toiling drearily hour after hour for a miserable few pennies a day. I would paint for you the tragic scene of families torn asunder as the stern storm trooper orders the helpless worker to leave his home and his family, to slave for months and often years in far distant wastelands, hardly knowing what is meanwhile happening to his wife and children. I would show you fine youths forced to spend their young manhood in the armies of the dictators, taught to look forward to a day when, lifeless and bleeding, they will hang on the barbed wire of some no-man's land, casualties of a war they did not desire. And back home, housewives, sometimes with babes in their arms, are standing in bread lines day after day, in the hope of buying a few crumbs for starving families.

Yes, Father Coughlin may say, perhaps the standard of living is too low, perhaps the jobs are too poor, perhaps the hours are too long, perhaps the wages are too small, but at least the workers have security. Well, let us examine this security of theirs. Let us look into the soul of the German worker, as he sits of an evening in his little home, tired after a long day's toil. There is fear in his eyes, fellow

citizens, the kind of fear that has never been seen in the eyes of Americans! Perhaps he was too tired to attend the regular meeting of the Nazi party the night before; and now he may be accused of treason—treason because he was tired—and another man may be placed in the job that is his. Perhaps he is thinking of the spies in his place of employment, spies everywhere, peering with their ferret-like eyes at him every moment of the day. Has he made a misstep? How can he know? There are so many missteps in this totalitarian land. Perhaps he is thinking of the informer who lives on his block; there is one on every block in Germany; the informer who sneaks about to spy on the radio programs he listens to, on the newspapers he reads, on the chance remarks he may make. Watch your step, you German worker! A single mistake may mean your life, or at the very least, a life that is worse than death, in a concentration camp.

No, such security is not for us in the land of the free! Let not Father Coughlin try to convince us otherwise as he tries to duplicate here the regimentation of labor that is already in effect in Germany.

There is, it is true, need for a constructive program for labor at the present time in America. This program should include, first, the exclusion of all Communist influence from the labor movement. For the Communists, like the Nazis, work not to unite our people in order to build a stronger democracy. They work to divide our people to make a weaker democracy.

This program for labor should include also the recognition of the principle that wherever a labor union has jurisdiction, it should continue to enjoy that right without interference from rival unions. Raids upon each other's ju-

risdiction by rival unions should stop. First, because inter-union warfare weakens the labor movement, and second, because this warfare confuses the public and it is likely to alienate sympathy from the entire labor movement.

Along with this principle should go a willingness by labor leaders to forget their own personal ambitions as they work for the common good of the common cause of labor. And most important of all, the A. F. of L. and the C. I. O. must be united, for only from this unity will labor gain the strength to survive and grow.

And now, what about Father Coughlin's attitude toward industry? On December 2, 1934, Father Coughlin declared, "We maintain the principle that there can be no lasting prosperity if free competition exists in any industry. Therefore, it is the business of government not only to legislate for a minimum wage and a maximum working schedule to be observed by industry, but also to curtail individualism that, if necessary, factories shall be licensed and their output should be limited."

Now this, as Father Coughlin should tell his listeners, is the very method that Hitler is using to bolshevize German industry. He should tell his listeners just what the system of licensing and limiting has meant to the German businessman.

He should describe how business and industry work in the land of the brown fascists who call themselves National Socialists. In Germany today the initiative and opportunity of the businessman—every businessman—are strictly limited. In Germany today a man cannot decide to invest his capital in a new factory that might put thousands to work. He must first consult the state, which alone can decide whether or not such a project will take workers

away from the munitions industry which today sprawls like an octopus over the land. Graft and corruption rule the businessman's every waking moment. He cannot make the slightest decision without paying tribute in money to the ruling clique of the Nazi Party. He cannot import the goods for which there is a wholesome demand. Finally, he must live in daily fear of complete expropriation by the state on the slightest pretext or on no pretext whatever. This is the picture of German industry. Is it a picture of the kind of industry that Father Coughlin recommends for America? Surely, it is not the kind of picture that appeals to the American people.

I know that the German industrialists listened to and supported Hitler's program of promises even as Father Coughlin thinks, perhaps, that some industrialists in America are listening to and supporting his program of promises. But the German industrialist today knows that the scourge of Nazism has taken from him his rights. Today we witness the fate of Fritz Thyssen, the industrialist who helped the Nazis achieve power in Germany. Today we see Fritz Thyssen a fugitive from his native land; a refugee in Switzerland. Not the Christians only, not the Jews only, not labor only—but industrialists, too, know in this hour what is the price that men must pay for the blessings of Nazism.

Oh, no, our picture of America is not the same as Father Coughlin's. We do not want to ape the tyrannies of Hitler's Germany, of Stalin's Russia. We do not want poverty and starvation; we are not a people drearily looking forward to bleak days of vicious war-making, afraid to speak what is in our minds, afraid to worship God according to the dictates of our consciences. If that is what Father

Coughlin desires for America, if that is what he believes America wants for herself, then he does not yet know the mind and temper of this country. For we are building a happy land where free men may work in the fields and in the factories, where they may come home in the evening for a hearty dinner, where children may romp in freedom and their mothers have no fears for the future. We dream of a land where, on Sunday or on the Sabbath day, men may walk in upright sincerity to their places of worship and give thanks to God for the blessings which He, in His mercy, showers upon us—blessings of peace, and security, and liberty, and democracy. That is our America, and our America-to-be!

SERVING TWO MASTERS

Every American has the right to be neutral with respect to the war in Europe. But no American has the right to be neutral with respect to the war which is being waged for democracy in America against the Nazis and Communists and their sympathizers here. Those who believe in the principles of American democracy must believe in them passionately and wholeheartedly. And they must be clear and forthright in saying so. They must also be just as forthright and direct in acting upon these principles. There is no middle ground.

A citizen of this country either believes in the American principle of racial equality—or he does not. He either believes in the American principle of religious freedom—or he does not. He either believes in the American principle of government "of the people, by the people and for the people"—or he does not. He believes in the rights of labor and in individual enterprise—or he does not. He either believes in free speech, free press and free assembly—or he does not. He either believes in democratic freedom, human decency and the sacred worth of every living man—or he does not. No citizen of this country can now half-believe in these American principles and half-believe in the oppression of humanity and the degradation of man that mark Communism and Nazism; in the regimentation of capital and labor and the suppression of all civil rights that mark Communism and Nazism; in the race hatred of

Nazism or the religious persecution of Communism; in the stifling of science and art by both Communism and Nazism.

For Americans today the choice is either American democracy or Commu-nazism. There is no middle ground. We cannot serve both. I take my text from the words of Christ: "No man can serve two masters: for either he will hate the one, and love the other; or else he will hold to the one, and despise the other."

Father Coughlin's menace to our American way of life, our love of freedom and democracy is just this: that he tries to confuse this issue. He has tried to cover his Fascism with the cloak of Americanism. He appears to be for Americanism and at the same time against it. But no man can serve two masters.

We do not believe in dictatorship of any kind and we loathe tyranny in all its forms. We do believe, however, as Abraham Lincoln did, in government "of the people, by the people and for the people." We believe that the will of the majority of our citizens is more likely to be right than the will of any minority, however enlightened some people may think it to be. This is the essence of democracy. But Fascists do not believe in this principle. Where does Father Coughlin stand? He denies that he favors totalitarianism. Yet can it be said that he believes in democracy?

In *Social Justice* for February 20, 1939, an editorial appeared which made light of the principle of majority rule. It went so far as to state that a minority is much more likely to be right than the majority. This may be good Fascist doctrine, but its effect upon democracy is to destroy it. A minority rules in Russia and a minority rules in Germany by the only means available to a minority—by oppressing

and terrorizing the majority, by depriving them of their rights, by forcing the people to do its will whether they want to or not. Accept Father Coughlin's disregard for majority rule and that's what you get. Not democracy, not more freedom, but dictatorship and slavery! This government is safe only so long as majority rule is guaranteed to the people.

But added to his dislike of majority rule, Father Coughlin has repeatedly favored the corporate state as against the democratic state. Thus, in *Social Justice* for January 30, 1939, he went on record against our traditional method of electing on "a geographical basis, commonly referred to as congressional districts." He continued, "I suggested that this geographical representation is obsolete and that for it should be substituted an occupational or vocational representation. . . .

"By this it is understood that the laborer will join a labor group; the farmer, an agricultural group; the lawyer, physician, surgeon and professional man, a professional group. . . .

". . . The laborers will have their representative in Congress. So will the farmers. So will the professional men. So will every other group. Not too many representatives will be required because we will not be divided into too many groups."

Now this, as Father Coughlin ought to tell the American people, is an idea which is common to both Communism and Fascism, and which is today, as a matter of fact, embodied in the governments of Russia and Italy alike.

When, in addition to this, we note that Father Coughlin has asked us to invite American missionaries from the dictator countries who would tell us what to do; when we

note that, according to his own statement, his principles are practically all being put into practice in Italy and Germany; when we note that in *Social Justice* for November 14, 1938, the statement appeared that "the only unbiased source of truth is Father Coughlin"—we have the right to conclude that Coughlinism is Fascism, the rule in America by a minority whose only source of truth is Father Coughlin. And we have not only the right, but the duty as Americans who believe in majority rule, to reject this Fascist importation and to brand it as the enemy of American democracy—the betrayer of American ideals. We have a further right to ask all Americans to reject Coughlinism because it is Fascism; to choose democracy because it is Americanism. Father Coughlin, like all others, cannot serve two masters. He has, apparently, chosen to serve Fascism. But neither can we serve two masters. We, too, must choose. And we choose American democracy.

Another characteristic of Fascism is anti-Semitism. We in America have in the past known little of this vicious and barbarous phenomenon. For Americans, being a people of many origins and many races, all of whom came here to find freedom, have always believed that in this country all men are entitled to equal opportunity, equal respect, equal rights. We have had our inter-group difficulties, but we have always known that they could be adjusted. We have seen racial hatred in America, but we have never condoned it, or said that it represented America at her best.

But now, like a bad dream from the past, comes Father Coughlin's anti-Semitism, imported into America from scurrilous Nazi Germany, buttressed by statements from Nazi documents, and all the while so presented as to make it appear that his anti-Semitism is not anti-Semitism after



"What'll I say now?"

all. When Father Coughlin says that he is not anti-Semitic he means that he does not openly say that he dislikes the Jews. This is a naive way for such a clever man to answer so simple an accusation. One way to be anti-Semitic is to stir up in others hatred against the Jews. This method relieves the instigator of hatred of the direct responsibility that may be traced to his plain statements, and, at the same time, it accomplishes its purpose by stirring up hatred in others and making them assume the responsibility. But in the end the result is the same. Hatred is stirred up and racial intolerance begins to appear.

Father Coughlin ought to recall the Gospel counsel that a man is known not only by his words but by his acts. Christ said, "Beware of false prophets which come to you in sheep's clothing but inwardly they are ravening wolves. By their fruits ye shall know them." Applying this standard to Father Coughlin's utterances they are seen to have borne a very rich crop of anti-Semitic fruit.

It is not by accident that Father Coughlin advocated what is euphemistically called "The Christian Front," approved of men joining it, and talked of its virtues. It is not by accident that he referred to the members of the Christian Front in *Social Justice* for July 31, 1939, as "the stalwart patriots of the Christian Front." It is no accident that this un-Christian "Christian Front"—looked upon with such favor by Father Coughlin—holds meetings at which speakers openly berate the Jews and urge their hearers to go into action against them. It is not by accident that the same "Christian Front" moves as a mob in its anti-Semitic activity. Has Father Coughlin's "Christian Front" misunderstood its leader?

Of course, lately Father Coughlin has tried to avoid the

responsibility for this movement and has tried to get out from under the disgrace attached to it. But neither his recent gestures nor the artful juggling of words are ever going to enable Father Coughlin to dodge the fact that he has encouraged anti-Semitism in this country. Only a clear and unqualified retraction by him and the promise, supported by deeds, never again to use means for bestirring racial hatred will convince us that he is not anti-Semitic.

In considering this subject it ought always to be remembered that Father Coughlin is not the only offender. While Father Coughlin, by his words and deeds, has become a leading symbol of the forces of Fascism in America, what I have said about him applies equally to all other pro-Fascist leaders in America, Fritz Kuhn, Major-General Moseley, Winrod, Pelley, Deatheridge, McWilliams and the Rev. Gerald Smith.

We who believe in American principles, we who are determined to serve them—we cannot now or at any other time have anything to do with anti-Semitism. American citizens of Jewish origin are American citizens. We judge them as individuals. And as individuals they are the equals of all other Americans. They have the same rights and the same privileges as all American citizens of whatever origin. The same right to life, the same right to liberty and the same right to the pursuit of happiness. By this principle of equality all Americans stand without compromise. Because Father Coughlin does not stand by it, all Americans will reject Coughlinism. Father Coughlin cannot serve two masters. He cannot serve Americanism with its principle of racial equality, and Fascism with its principle of racial persecution. He has, apparently, chosen to serve Fascism. But we—we have chosen to serve American

democracy.

Let us refer to another aspect of Coughlinism. It pertains to labor. No matter what a man's opinion may be about labor, this much must be accepted as fundamental: that labor has its proper rights which must always be respected and protected. This is true because workingmen are Americans and human beings. They, too, have the same right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness as all other Americans. We cannot tolerate in America any oppression of labor. Their welfare is our welfare—and their rights are our rights.

We regard as revolting the Nazi regimentation of labor, the destruction of labor unions and the confiscation of labor funds. For that reason we oppose Father Coughlin's program for labor, which, while pretending to be friendly, is in reality an attempt to duplicate here what the Nazis have done to labor in Germany.

On November 12, 1939 Father Coughlin described strikes as "outmoded persecution" and called upon the government to halt the Chrysler labor dispute in Detroit. This is the way Hitler would do it. The strikers would be compelled by the government to go back to work, to accept such wages as it wished to pay, to make labor work as many hours for these wages as the government decreed. And that, fellow citizens, is the way in which labor would lose its right to life, to liberty and the pursuit of happiness. That is the way to destroy the American principle which recognizes the right of labor to strike in order to make its united strength felt when other means have failed.

It is a matter of record that in 1934, before the automobile workers were organized, the average wage was $800 per year; but that since they have been organized the aver-

age wage is $1,190 per year, which is still $200 less than the subsistence wage for a family of four. Therefore, is Father Coughlin right in saying that strikes are a form of "outmoded persecution?" Have they not proved their worth in gaining fairer wages for the workers of America? Are not the men who produce the things that we all enjoy —are they not entitled as Americans to a living wage?

I am not alone in this stand. The Reverend Raymond C. Clancy, executive secretary of the Archdiocesan Labor Institute in Detroit, answered Father Coughlin on November 14, 1939, and answered him well. It was Father Clancy who called attention to the fact that in addressing the Chrysler workers Father Coughlin had misinterpreted the meaning of Pope Pius XI's encyclical on labor, that he had misquoted the Pope's words and "inserted his own words in the text with the result that he distorted the thought expressed by the Pope."

Said Father Clancy, "Yet this cannot compare with the flagrant error which the Royal Oak pastor made last Sunday when he took the words of Pius XI completely out of their context and offered the Pope's description of Italian Fascism as a statement of principle advocated by the Holy Father. And not only did he disapply the text but he also misquoted it."

We are used to these methods of Father Coughlin by now. His misstatements, his misrepresentations, his special pleading for the Fascist cause have characterized his pronouncements on democracy, on the Jews, on religion, on majority rule, on racial equality—and now on labor. His is a cause that he can no longer plead without arousing the suspicion in Americans that, while he feigns friendship for American democracy, he is in reality the servant of Fas-

cism. He cannot serve two masters. He cannot serve both Fascism and democracy "for either he will hate the one, and love the other; or else he will hold to the one, and despise the other." He has, apparently, chosen to serve Fascism.

But we stand upon the principles that our forefathers gave us. This is not a mere worship of the past. We accept the American principles of the past, but apply them to our twentieth-century problems. We can never have too much democracy and so we extend democracy to present-day problems. We can never have too much racial equality or religious freedom—and so we extend the principle of racial equality and religious freedom to fit our present needs. We can never have too much justice for labor and so we extend the American principles concerning the rights of labor to meet the needs of labor in this day. In doing so we are making democracy work. In doing so we are rejecting Fascism and Communism, and the counterpart of Fascism in America—Coughlinism. In doing so we are engaged in building a better America; an America which is a source of inspiration the world over as the home of a free, fearless, secure and happy people.

THE GHOST OF ROYAL OAK

A long time ago an Oriental monarch, surrounded by his court, sat at table enjoying the rich food and heady wine which only he could afford, when suddenly mystic words appeared upon the wall of the banquet room. These words were, "Thou art weighed in the balances and art found wanting."

For several years now the American people have been treated betimes to the sound of a voice coming from Royal Oak in the State of Michigan. It has been the voice of one who had, many once thought, a message for America. As the years have passed, however, the good judgment, the fair-mindedness and the patriotism of the American people have moved them to dismiss Father Coughlin with the same words that marked the end of the Oriental monarch so long ago: "Thou are weighed in the balances and art found wanting." And today, he who was once a man of substance and reality in the public mind is rapidly taking on the form of a shadow. The man of Royal Oak has become the ghost of Royal Oak.

In the earlier days Father Coughlin had made his reputation by favoring money-reform, government ownership of the Federal Reserve Banks, the abandonment of the gold standard and the revaluation of silver. He was, in those days, friendly to the Roosevelt administration and used to cry out, "Roosevelt or ruin!" People listened and they responded to Father Coughlin generously. And then

the Roosevelt administration began to put its program into practice. It took the country off the gold standard; it changed the price of gold; and it revalued silver. It regulated banks and the stock exchange. It insured bank deposits and it increased bank reserves.

By these measures much of the danger that threatened America passed. And Father Coughlin lost an issue with which to hold his followers.

Abashed and chagrined by being thus outwitted, Father Coughlin turned on the Roosevelt administration. In 1936 he set up his own hand-picked candidate for the presidency, Congressman William Lemke, and promised him at least nine million votes. He predicted defeat for President Roosevelt. On July 16, 1936, in Cleveland, he called the President "that great betrayer and liar—Franklin Double-Crossing Roosevelt." On September 25th he called the President "anti-Christ"—a favorite name of his for all who disagree with him. On October 25th he called the President "the scab President Roosevelt."

And then it was that the fair-mindedness of American citizens led them not only to refuse to follow Father Coughlin, but also to suspect his motives as a champion of money reform. Was he for money reform because he believed in money reform? If so, why then did he not support the President who had accomplished so much that he was supposed to favor with respect to money reform? Or was he for money reform for other than patriotic motives?

At any rate, Father Coughlin's influence became less and less, his voice weaker and weaker. Rapidly his following was deserting him. But no one knew how completely the American people had rejected him as a leader until the votes were counted in 1936. Instead of the nine million

promised by Father Coughlin, Mr. Lemke received only 800,000, and not a single vote in the Electoral College. Thus disavowed, Father Coughlin promised to withdraw from all radio activity, as he said, "in the best interests of all the people." He said, "I am doing this to prove that my promise is better than my bond." The man of Royal Oak had become the ghost of Royal Oak.

And indeed, he might have served his country well had he continued to place "the interests of all the people" above his own personal whims. But to do that it would have been necessary for him to have kept his promise to remain off the air. Instead of that he returned to haunt American life. The message he now asked the American people to take seriously had the ring of something unreal in American ears. It sounded like the echo of something that we had heard before. And then came Sunday, November 20, 1938, and Father Coughlin's anti-Jewish broadcast—full of misrepresentation, full of misstatements, and full of references to Nazi ideas and Nazi documents. Then it was that we knew whence we had heard these things before. It was from the anti-Semitic Nazis. Then it was that Americans awoke to the true character of the ghost of Royal Oak.

Americans saw in this attack upon American citizens of Jewish origin the attempt to introduce here the Nazi method of destroying democracy by dividing the people. Week by week in his speeches and in his magazine Father Coughlin gave increasing evidence to the American people that, in fact, this *was* his aim: the destruction of American democracy and the establishment of totalitarianism.

His admiration for dictator nations became extravagant. On February 13, 1939, *Social Justice* stated "—the 'dicta-

tors'—from Munich to Rome—are making every effort to maintain international accord and preserve peace. From the 'democracies,' on the other hand . . . particularly from Mr. Roosevelt's America—the world hears continual talk of war."

Over and over again this admiration for totalitarianism appeared in *Social Justice*. On February 13, 1939, an editorial in this magazine compared the democracies unfavorably with the Fascist dictatorships, making it appear that the dictators had "cured depression and stopped Communism." Father Coughlin must have known that Americans do not regard militarization, forced labor, a low standard of living, the destruction of labor unions, the regimentation of industry and the complete subjugation of a people as the cure for depression. Yet that is the dictator's way of which he expressed approval. He must have known, too, that Americans do not believe that Fascism is the way by which to stop Communism, but rather that American democracy is the answer to both Communism and Fascism.

At the same time, in his attempt to return to the land of living leadership from which the people had banished him in 1936, Father Coughlin continued to defy American public opinion by his praise of Fascism and his denunciation of democracy. Thus, while all Americans boiled with indignation over the treatment of Czechoslovakia by the Nazis—even as they are aroused now over the treatment of Finland by the Communists—*Social Justice* approved of the Munich settlement and said so in the issue of December 5, 1938.

In the frenzy of his intoxication over Fascism Father Coughlin came out for the Italian system of government,


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saying, "We favor the Corporate State." Small wonder that, although Americans might have loathed the proposal, the Fascist paper *Regime Fascista* on January 16, 1939, praised Father Coughlin as a man "who appreciates our line of conduct." This is the same Fascist paper that led attacks on the Vatican in the dispute over the Italian anti-Semitic measures.

In proportion as he advocated Fascism, Father Coughlin missed no opportunity to speak with bitterness of democracy. On August 1, 1938, for instance, he referred to democracy in *Social Justice* in these words:

"Democracy! More honored in the breach than in the observance.

"Democracy! A mockery that mouths the word and obstructs every effort on the part of an honest people to establish a government for the welfare of the people.

"Democracy! A cloak under which hide the culprits who have built up an inorganic tumor of government which is sapping away the wealth of its citizens through confiscatory taxation."

These words showed his contempt for our system of government. They represented the final proof of his failure to appreciate it, to understand its problems and to be thankful for its benefits which have never ceased to attract to our shores thousands of the oppressed of other lands.

Again, when America was trying to protect itself against the work of Nazi spies in this country, and after the government had succeeded in bringing them to justice, Father Coughlin's magazine featured an article by Ben Marcin on December 19, 1938, which purported to show that the German spy case was a frame-up by certain Americans to create ill will against Germany. Marcin stated that Mr.

Leon Turrou, the government agent who uncovered the case, was "a veteran agent of the Soviet Ogpu" who was planted here to do the job. This story by Marcin was an unadulterated falsehood. But it was also a bitter attack upon our government. The danger of being sued for this story prompted Father Coughlin to publish a full-page retraction on December 26, 1938.

But the waning faith in Father Coughlin as a leader was turned into a black-out when his beloved Hitler and his much-hated Stalin signed their pact. For then even the blindest could understand that Father Coughlin's description of Fascism as a defense against Communism was the thinnest nonsense. Yet in the face of the incontrovertible fact that Communism and Nazism are now allies, and in face of the fact that the pact is hailed by the Communists the world over, Father Coughlin's magazine on October 9, 1939, favored a Nazi victory on the preposterous assumption that it would be "less harmful" for the Church than a victory for the democracies would be.

Is it any wonder that true Americans have continued to refuse him their support since their rejection of him in 1936—that they will not let the ghost of Royal Oak again become the man of Royal Oak? Is it any wonder that in all of his anti-American campaign Father Coughlin has succeeded in gaining support only from the element in our population which ever feeds upon hatred? Is it any wonder that his following is limited to members of such organizations as the Un-Christian Front, the German-American Bund, the Silver Shirts, the Knights of the White Camellia and the Christian Mobilizers? Is it any wonder that people were disgusted by the conduct of the Coughlinite picket line which used to march in front of several radio stations

in New York, disgusted with the hoodlums who chanted their hatred of American citizens, who insulted women and who picked quarrels with passersby?

But American patriots have continued to reject Father Coughlin as a leader since 1936 because they know that his aim is to destroy our democracy. He remains for them the ghost of Royal Oak.

Likewise the true believers in money reform rejected Father Coughlin and his un-American program. In a statement which appeared in *Dynamic America* for January, 1939, outstanding representatives in the money reform movement in America denounced Father Coughlin for the confusion which he was introducing "into the public discussion of a scientific monetary system." They said, "We unreservedly condemn the injection of racial and religious prejudice by Father Coughlin into the technical questions of monetary change." Continuing, these genuine exponents of money reform stated, "All of us feel that the logic of our respective views on money and banking is so strong that it needs no support from the type of propaganda for 'social justice' indulged in by factious citizens."

These men—these experts in money reform—realized that money reform is an economic question and that it has nothing to do with any religious or racial group in our country. Such repudiation of Father Coughlin by his former friends is more than convincing proof of how impossible it has been for the ghost of Royal Oak to return to life as a serious contender for leadership in America.

Not only did patriotic Americans and former friends continue to reject Father Coughlin after 1936, but Christians, who understood the essentially un-Christian motive of his program, likewise rejected him. For Christians could

not share Father Coughlin's sympathy with Nazi Germany which they knew was the persecutor and enemy of Christianity.

Christians knew that only in democratic America could the Church thrive, that only in democratic America could the sixty-five million people who are Christians practice their religion unmolested, that only in democratic America could services be held in peace and security in the 250,000 churches which stand in this land. On the other hand, Christians knew that it was Hitler who wrote in *Mein Kampf*, "We are not against the hundred and one different kinds of Christianity, but Christianity itself . . ." And they did not admire him as Father Coughlin plainly did. Christians knew that it was Storm Troop Leader Ammerlahn who said, "Roman Catholics are the black vultures of German Nationalism. We will not stop until we have scratched them out of the lives of the German people."

Christians knew these things. They knew, too, that dictatorship always means the suppression of religion. They were consequently opposed to Fascism and to Father Coughlin, who admired Fascism. It was not surprising that the late Cardinal Mundelein's official newspaper, *The New World*, stated editorially on July 1, 1938, "To be violently anti-Semitic, as in Berlin and Vienna, is to be anti-Catholic. To deny justice to one is to deny justice to all. One who serves beneath the banners of the Prince of Peace, who serves in the cause of honor, humility and right, cannot afford to march with modern legions of hate." In view of these words in Cardinal Mundelein's newspaper in July, 1938, it was not surprising to hear him say in December, 1938, that Father Coughlin "is not authorized to speak for the Catholic Church, nor does he represent the

doctrine or sentiments of the Church."

Statements of the same kind were forthcoming from other outstanding Christian leaders. The Rev. Dr. Maurice S. Sheehy, of the Catholic University of America, in a broadcast on March 14, 1939, quoted Pope Pius XI, who declared, "It is not possible for Christians to take part in anti-Semitism." The Rt. Rev. Benjamin M. Washburn, Bishop of the Episcopal Diocese of Newark, said, "If God is our common Father, how can we be less than brethren, one of another?" And the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America followed a similar line and came out strongly for true Christianity and against anti-Semitism.

Thus it is that Christians, patriots and sincere believers in money reform were lined up against Father Coughlin's attempt to come back from the limbo of forgetfulness to which the people had banished him in 1936. He had been weighed in the balances and been found wanting. Unheeded by the intelligent, denounced by his former friends, without a following because he could not command it any longer, shown to be no spokesman for the Church—he remains the ghost of Royal Oak, a hapless shadow of a man who neither understands nor sympathizes with the ideals and aims of his countrymen.

THE PERSECUTOR AND THE REFUGEE

This nation is a nation of refugees. It has not been built by a class, or a race or the adherents of one religion. It has been built by all classes of men and all races of men and by the adherents of many religions. It is a nation of people who, when they were persecuted for political and religious beliefs in other lands, came to America and found freedom. Unwanted in the lands of their birth they came to America and found a home. And it is our glory that the rejected of other lands, the despised, the homeless—the refugees—have built here in America the greatest nation and the freest nation on the face of the earth.

George Washington himself thought of America as the land in which the oppressed of other countries might find safety and freedom. In his Thanksgiving Day Proclamation in 1795 he said, "Humbly and fervently to beseech the kind Author of these blessings . . . to render this country more and more a safe propitious asylum for the unfortunate of other countries." And Thomas Jefferson expressed the same sentiments in his message to Congress in 1801 when he asked, "Shall we refuse to the unhappy fugitives from distress that hospitality which the savages of the wilderness extended to our fathers arriving in this land? Shall oppressed humanity find no asylum on this globe?"

Despite the fact, however, that from the start America was founded by refugees and despite the added fact that the great leaders of this country desired that America

should continue to remain an asylum for the oppressed, some Americans have been inclined to forget both facts and to view with jealous eyes the arrival of new seekers of freedom in this land dedicated to freedom.

Fleeing persecution and famine in the last century the Irish came to America by the thousands. Their presence here was opposed by a segment of our people who called themselves "Nativists." They accused the newly arrived Irish of being aliens, of clannishness, of depriving Americans of their jobs. And then the persecution of the Irish refugees began. In 1833 a mob in Boston stoned the houses in which the Irish lived and in 1834 a convent was burned in Charlestown, Massachusetts.

Doran Hurley, writing in the *American Mercury* for May, 1939, recounts that in 1837 "came the Broad Street riots in Boston, in which over 15,000 people were involved and which were only brought to a halt by calling out the National Lancers"; that in the same year a ranting demagogue known as the "Angel Gabriel" Orr, incited his hearers to make mob attacks upon Catholic Churches and Irish homes; that "in the Philadelphia Riots of 1844 the mad anti-Irish feeling reached its peak"—fourteen were killed and thirty-nine wounded, "two churches, a seminary, and forty Irish dwellings were burned at a loss of $250,000."

What happened to the Irish also happened, in some degree, to the German, the Italian, the Slavic and the Scandinavian immigrants who came to America. They were mistreated, called names and deprived of opportunity.

It is not necessary, perhaps, to remind an American audience that all of this was cruel to the Irish and those other immigrants, untrue to the American tradition and unworthy of anyone who called himself a Christian. But I

recall these sad facts today, because the intolerant Americans of the past have their counterparts in certain intolerant Americans of the present, who, like their predecessors, can look upon the sufferings of the refugees from Europe of this day and still refuse to help them. Thus it is that *Social Justice*, on May 16, 1938, referred with scorn to the arrival in America of those who had to flee from Germany, not because of any crime they had committed but because they were either born Jews or else because they could not submit to the tyranny of Hitlerism. Said Father Coughlin's magazine: "There remains, moreover, the interesting and important speculations as to why they are refugees. Troublemakers in the lands from which they seek to escape, these refugee aliens too often bring their subversive activities along with them to the new field of opportunity. Thus while offering asylum to those driven out by the housecleaning in Europe, America does not have, in its own turn, the protection of a 'purge.'" This is a fiendish, untrue and unwarranted statement concerning the refugee situation. And Americans who know what Americanism is will feel the same way about it.

In this connection it is worthwhile to point out that the plight of the refugees of the present day is even worse than was the plight of the refugees of former times. This is due to the utter brutality and degeneracy of the modern dictators and the totalitarian governments. They have attacked, abused and reversed every principle upon which decent society is founded, making it impossible for many of their best citizens to remain under their rule.

From Italy comes news of the merciless treatment of human beings with respect to loss of liberty, the subjugation of labor, the regimentation of capital and discrimina-

tion against Italians of Jewish origin. From Russia the story unfolds as a merciless persecution of property owners, peasants and workingmen. It depicts, according to the former French Communist leader, Boris Souvarine, in his book *Stalin*, the mass deportation of hundreds of thousands of Russians from their homes in the South to the cold bleakness of Siberia in the North.

And on December 2, 1939, an Associated Press dispatch from Berlin reported that two million Jews in Greater Germany and Poland "will be transferred to the Jewish reservation in Eastern Poland." On December 6th the *New York Times* reported that at present the reservation "is an enormous and completely isolated concentration camp sixty miles long and fifty miles wide," in which about 50,000 suffer "from lack of food, clothes and shelter." And yet more are to be sent there shortly.

On December 12, 1939 the *New York Herald-Tribune* reported that "one of the worst famines in history is expected in Poland as a result of the systematic removal from the country by the Germans of all foodstuffs—milk, butter, cattle and cereals." But in addition to famine is added the brutal treatment of the Polish people. Thus, the *Herald-Tribune* stated that one of the Poles from whom this story was obtained by the correspondent said, "A curfew was decreed for seven o'clock in the evening. After that anyone who was outside without a special permit was shot. I know of a family who had received the body of their son with no explanation except a card on which was written '7:15.' A quarter of an hour cost him his life."

All of this is a partial and inadequate picture of the persecution of men and women and children by the dic-

tators of this day. It is an affront to everything for which America has ever stood; an affront to our concept of individual rights and freedom; an affront to our belief in the dignity of human nature; an affront to the very structure of our society which has been reared entirely by the persecuted and unfortunate of other lands.

But it is also the antithesis of everything that Christians hold dear. Christians can never forget that Christ and His Blessed Mother were refugees in Egypt, driven there by Herod, the tyrant of that day. Christians can never forget that it is written of Christ that He had not where to lay His head. Christians can never forget the words of Christ which assert, "I was an hungered, and ye gave me meat: I was thirsty, and ye gave me drink: I was a stranger, and ye took me in." And how is this, we ask? Christ answers, "Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me."

Yet, with full knowledge that it is the American tradition to provide an asylum for refugees and with full knowledge that Christian compassion urges the support of this tradition certain men in America today, inspired more by Hitlerism than by either Christianity or American tradition, create opposition to the presence in America of the unfortunate victims of persecution in Europe. In doing this they become the partners in America of the persecutors in Europe. The Nazis first make it unbearable for people to live in Germany, and then incite their sympathizers abroad to make it unbearable for them to live elsewhere.

By this means the Nazis hope to make persecution world-wide, but also by this means they hope to make Nazism world-wide. Sympathize with Nazism and you

hate all whom the Nazis hate. Hate those whom the Nazis hate and you will use the Nazis' way to persecute them. Thus, by sharing the Nazis' attitude toward refugees, some Americans knowingly or unknowingly help the Nazis accomplish their work of shame and degradation.

The opponents of the admission to America of the refugees do not tell us this, to be sure. Rather, they offer as the basis of their opposition the excuse that the number of refugees to be admitted is too large and that they will deprive Americans of employment.

These claims are not true and Americans ought to know it. Since 1921 immigration to the United States has been restricted by quota regulations. At present only 153,724 quota immigrants are allowed to come to this country each year and of this number 83,524 are assigned to Great Britain and Ireland. A statement issued by the Committee for Catholic Refugees from Germany and the American Committee for Christian-German Refugees states:

"For the six-year period, July 1, 1932, through June 30, 1938, 241,962 immigrants were admitted into the United States for permanent residence. During the same six-year period 246,449 immigrants previously admitted to this country for permanent residence departed from these shores for other countries. Thus, during the six-year period that roughly approximates the years of the Nazi regime in Germany, 4,487 more aliens departed than were admitted to the United States. During this six-year period the quota laws permitted an immigration of 922,644 whereas only 241,962 immigrants were admitted for permanent residence, only about 26% of the quota allowance."

Continuing this report states, "For the fiscal year end-

ing June 30, 1938, the year of the so-called 'great refugee immigration' there was a net immigration into this country for permanent residence of only 42,685. . . . Based upon a population of 130 million the 1938 net immigration to this country represented less than 4/100 of one percent of our population."

These figures speak for themselves. The country is in no danger of being deluged by an immigration that is beyond what the law prescribes and the country can handle.

It is well to consider also that the persecutors of this day care nothing about a man's race or his religion, for men of all races and all religions are their victims. The American Friends Service Committee reports, for instance, that "in 1938, about one-third (31%) of all refugees from Germany were Christian."

Neither is there any danger that the refugees who do come here will displace Americans in the field of employment. One hears the charge that jobs have been lost by Americans and taken by refugees. The Public Affairs Committee has issued a pamphlet called *America and the Refugees* in which we find this statement, "All rumors of jobs lost in favor of needy refugees have been investigated, and the Committee has found, almost invariably, that the rumors are groundless. Often they can be traced to persons or organizations with alien-baiting or anti-Semitic aims."

Dr. Henry Smith Leiper, Foreign Secretary of the Federal Council of Churches, substantiated this statement in an article which appeared in *Current History* for May, 1939. But Dr. Leiper goes on to say that, "Many experts, among them noted economists, believe that refugee immigration can be an important factor in the return of

prosperity. These people point out that the refugees bring new skills, additional capital and even new jobs to the countries in which they settle. This has been the experience of England, of Holland, of Australia and now of America."

Moreover, Dr. Leiper states, "Already the United States has harvested fruits of the refugee immigration. A survey just begun by the National Coordinating Committee for Aid to Refugees and Immigrants Coming from Germany reveals that thousands of Americans have been given employment in industrial projects started by refugee capital." He tells of a German refugee who now employs two hundred American workers in a real estate development in suburban New York; of a woolen hosiery mill established in Lawrence, Massachusetts, by three refugees who formerly exported these stockings to the United States; of a dress factory established in New York City; of one hundred and forty-seven Americans now employed in a Chicago factory making shoes for women; of a brand new industry, the manufacture of a flexible synthetic resin for tubing, sheet material, gaskets and such, established here by a refugee who brought the patent for it from Germany.

All of this is but an illustration of the fact that such immigration as there is to America, under the quota system, in no way endangers our economic structure. On the contrary, it sustains and strengthens it. But we cannot think of the benefits which America is reaping from the presence of the refugees in terms of material things alone. We must consider, along with them, the cultural and spiritual blessings which the refugees bring with them. Just as in former years the immigration to America of the Irish, the English, the Scotch, the Germans, the Jews, the French, the Ital-

ians, the Russians, the Scandinavians and many others gave America her great statesmen, her inventors, her educators, her scientists, her religious leaders, her artists and her writers, so the immigration of this day is bringing men recognized the world over as leaders in the realm of science and invention; in the realm of literature and art. Thomas Mann, Albert Einstein and Heinrich Bruening are some of these modern refugees whose presence is a blessing to American life.

We cannot but welcome them gladly, for they come to enrich America. We cannot but welcome them gladly, in the words inscribed on our Statue of Liberty which proclaims:

Give me your tired, your poor,
Your huddled masses yearning to breathe free,
The wretched refuse of your teeming shore,
Send these, the homeless, tempest tossed, to me;
I lift my lamp beside the golden door.

FATHER COUGHLIN AND THE UN-CHRISTIAN FRONT

On the evening of January 14, 1940, Americans were startled to learn that the Federal Bureau of Investigation, under the leadership of Mr. Edgar Hoover, had uncovered a plot of the so-called Christian Front to overthrow the United States Government, to terrorize our citizens, to bomb bridges and buildings and to seize all utility facilities. Mr. Hoover said that plans were discussed for the wholesale sabotage and blowing up of certain institutions so that a dictatorship could be set up here similar to the Hitler dictatorship in Germany, and for seizing the reins of government in this country as Hitler did in Germany. Their scheme was to spread a wave of terrorism so that the authorities would become thoroughly demoralized.

There are certain factors in this scheme which stand out clearly: it was planned by the Un-Christian Front; it was anti-Semitic; it was Nazi inspired; it was aimed at the destruction of American democracy and the United States government.

In the preceding chapters we have discussed the subject of the threat of Coughlinism and the Un-Christian Front to American institutions. We have analyzed their program and noted repeatedly the fact that it is patterned after the Nazi way and aimed at the destruction of American democracy. In all of this we have been careful to point out that anti-Semitism is only a smoke-screen behind which

the real plot of the Un-Christian Front could be carried out—that the real issue is not anti-Semitism but the overthrow of democratic government.

We have labeled the Un-Christian Front as the Nazi Front and said "it not only embraces Nazi ideals—it likewise uses Nazi methods." We noted that one of the methods that the German Nazis used "in their climb to power was the formation of semi-military units, known as 'Storm-Troopers.' These Storm-Troopers were trained in street-fighting, in keeping order at Nazi meetings and in throwing fear into people who might object to Nazi ways." We noted that in America the Un-Christian Front does the same thing: that they have what are called "Sports Clubs" and armed guards, and that the members of these sports clubs engage in target practice with rifles. We have said to these men: "We have reason to believe that you are preparing for your Nazi revolution." How very true that is may be seen from the revelations of Mr. Hoover on January 14.

Again, we have in the past pointed to the spiritual link between Father Coughlin and the Un-Christian Front. We have noted that his program is essentially the Nazi program; that it, too, is anti-Semitic; that it aims at the destruction of democracy and that Father Coughlin's followers in the Un-Christian Front correctly understood him when they engaged in anti-democratic and anti-Semitic activity in the streets of New York.

We have analyzed Coughlinism as having no confidence in the democratic principle of majority rule; as a plan "to drive a wedge between races and religions in America"—and so to destroy national unity; and as favorable to a dictatorship which it chose to call "Christian." The mem-

bers of the Un-Christian Front took Father Coughlin at his word. They are reported to have planned this dictatorship for the near future—by means of terrorism, bombings, killings and treason.

We also noted especially the statement in *Social Justice* (February 20, 1939) which recommended that we appeal to foreign dictators for missionaries who would teach us what to do—missionaries who are skilled in terrorism, missionaries who hate democracy and believe in dictatorship, missionaries who have persecuted religion in their own lands. And of this we said, "As in all other respects, Coughlinism runs true to Nazi form. For the Nazis, too, care nothing for democracy or religion. Now we can understand why the Nazis—not the German people—but the Nazis, can persecute the Church and yet hail Father Coughlin as a hero."

We also called to mind Father Coughlin's admiration for the Fascist method of overcoming depression; for the Fascist way of handling the agricultural problem; for the Fascist method of dealing with industry; and for the Fascist method of dealing with labor by completely dominating it.

Later we noted how on December 7, 1936 Father Coughlin praised Adolf Hitler both as a man and as the creator of a great nation; how on February 13, 1939 *Social Justice* compared the democracies unfavorably with the Fascist dictatorships. We read Father Coughlin's boast that practically all of his Sixteen Principles of Social Justice had been put into practice in Germany and Italy. We also dealt with his advocacy of the Italian system of government, "the corporate state," and with his desire for a Nazi victory in the European war. Finally, we read in Father

Coughlin's own magazine that "the only unbiased source of truth is Father Coughlin."

Well, "the source of truth" had spoken week by week and the Un-Christian Front had heard. Father Coughlin was pro-Nazi—and so was the Un-Christian Front. Father Coughlin was against democracy and for dictatorship—and so was the Un-Christian Front. Father Coughlin was anti-Semitic—and so was the Un-Christian Front. Father Coughlin pretended to be fighting against Communism and he described Fascism as the defense against it. And so did the Un-Christian Front. Although that was never true, although it has always been true that democracy is the only defense against Communism, although the Hitler-Stalin friendship pact showed that Fascism is no defense against Communism—still the Un-Christian Front believed Father Coughlin and when, finally, seventeen of them were caught planning to overthrow our government, according to the F. B. I., they said that they were aiming only to combat Communism. And this, despite the fact that Communism has lost all standing in America and its leader in this country has been convicted in the Federal Courts.

Father Coughlin has made a statement disavowing the Un-Christian Front. He said, according to newspaper reports, that the "Christian Front" which is now in trouble is not the one which he had advocated. This juggling of words reminds us of other instances of the same kind. Father Coughlin has claimed to be a believer in Americanism—but he has jeered at democracy. He has claimed that he is not anti-Semitic—but he has stirred up hatred against the Jews. Now he says that we have misunderstood him about this "Christian Front" business. He was supposed

to be talking about one thing and we were understanding him to be talking about something else. The plot thickens —but the *facts* remain. And *they* cannot be denied.

Let us examine the facts now and see whether or not Father Coughlin has any responsibility for the reportedly treasonable activity of the Un-Christian Front which has been brought to our attention.

On July 30, 1939 the announcer for Father Coughlin's broadcast said, "Today's discourse sounds a call to action. Following 1936, Father Coughlin retired from all active organization; today, he is encouraging the growth of the Christian Front—." What was the encouragement that Father Coughlin gave the Un-Christian Front in that speech? First, he asked the Bolsheviks in America to ponder upon this fact: "That the Christian Front is no longer a dream; it is a reality in America, a reality that grows stronger, more courageous and more determined under the threat of your ideological invasion." That is, he warned the Communists that the Un-Christian Front was going to fight them.

And then came these ominous words. Said Father Coughlin: "Nevertheless the Christian way is the peaceful way until—until—until all argument having failed, all civil authority having failed, there is left no other way but the way of defending ourselves against the invaders of our spiritual and national rights, the Franco way. And when your rights have been challenged, when all civil authority has succumbed before the invaders, then and only then may Christians meet force with force."

In these words Father Coughlin urged the use of force. He did not say specifically when to use it, but he urged it.

Nor was this the only occasion on which he recommended force to the Un-Christian Front. Once *Social Justice* printed some questions concerning the principles of Father Coughlin's program and six members of the editorial staff worked out the answers. Question 47 was, "What is Father Coughlin's most emphatic advice to the Christian Front?" And the answer was, "Meet force with force as a last resort." We may ask what constitutes the "last resort." Let John Cassidy answer. He has been a fervent follower of Father Coughlin for years. He is the Un-Christian Front leader in Brooklyn. He is a leader of the seventeen members of the Un-Christian Front who are charged with plotting the overthrow of our government. According to press reports John Cassidy, it is charged, "has advocated violence in speeches from time to time" and "a year ago in a Brooklyn speech he declared, 'we have tried the pen and now must try the sword.' " Cassidy, Father Coughlin's follower and leader of the Un-Christian Front, heard Father Coughlin advocate violence as "a last resort"—and Cassidy, it would appear, thought the time had come to use it.

Now, will Father Coughlin have the effrontery to say that he is not responsible for Mr. Cassidy, the leader of the Un-Christian Front in Brooklyn? There was a time when he was glad to recognize Cassidy. That was as recently as July of last year. *Social Justice* for July 31, 1939 carried banner headlines which read, "Christian Front Carries Fight into More States." The story in this issue of *Social Justice* about the activity of the Un-Christian Front stated that "along the Eastern seaboard during the last six months there is emerging a highly organized and rapidly growing militant Christian Front." It likened the Un-Christian Front to similar movements in Europe that were

supposed to be fighting Communism and predicted a membership of five million in 1940. It spoke of the invasion by the Un-Christian Front of "Cleveland, Cincinnati, Detroit and other key cities of the Middle West" that would begin in August. Then, turning special attention to Brooklyn, *Social Justice* said, "From a modest start of only thirty-six men banded together in Brooklyn last year,—the organization has penetrated all boroughs of the metropolis. Under the leadership of Mr. John F. Cassidy of Brooklyn, there are now five central units operating in the metropolitan district."

Thus, Father Coughlin was ready enough to acclaim the Un-Christian Front in general in the summer of 1939, and to point with pride to the work of John F. Cassidy, its leader in Brooklyn. Now that Cassidy appears in the rôle of conspirator against the United States Government, according to the Federal Bureau of Investigation . . . *now* Father Coughlin deserts him!

It will do him little good, for we recall that on July 24, 1939, *Social Justice* reported the meeting of "more than 8,500 enthusiastic crusaders for Social Justice" who "jammed two Philadelphia halls to hear the voice of Father Coughlin" which came to them by telephone from Detroit. In this speech Father Coughlin was eager to speak well of the Un-Christian Front. The article in *Social Justice* said, "Father Coughlin praised the heroism and zeal of the Christian Front in those areas where its work has already borne fruit, and urged Philadelphians to emulate their Christianity and Americanism." Yes, he praised the zeal for Americanism that finally led the Un-Christian Front to become involved with the Government of the United States.

At the same Philadelphia meeting one speaker told of how "New York had sextupled the circulation of *Social Justice* in five months and paid tribute to the assistance of the powerfully organized Christian Front in Brooklyn, New York City, Queens and The Bronx." If language means anything, this certainly ties up Father Coughlin with the Un-Christian Front—something that in July he was glad to admit.

And who else spoke at that meeting? None other than Mr. John F. Cassidy. Was he there by invitation? Yes. Was he welcome? He must have been for, according to the report of his speech in *Social Justice*, Cassidy sketched the "formation and growth of the Christian Front" and he also "pointed out that units of the organization are now in formation in several cities of the Eastern seaboard." He announced his desire to extend to David Scannell, chief distributor in Philadelphia, "the same cooperation his great organization has given *Social Justice* in New York City."

That sounds very much as if Mr. Cassidy, the Un-Christian Front and Father Coughlin were once all happy together. It does not sound as if Father Coughlin thought of the Christian Front then as something that he was called upon to disavow, and to say, in weasel-words, that he had advocated "a Christian Front" and not *the* "specific" Christian Front involved in the conspiracy charges. No, Father Coughlin cannot divorce himself so easily from this Un-Christian Front which he inspired, which welcomed his spiritual (if not his practical) guidance, which thought of itself, as Father Coughlin said, as "no longer a dream" but as a forceful and "determined reality in America," as "the Franco Way" in America. But when

Un-Christian Front stands charged with conspiracy against the Government, Father Coughlin has placed himself in the position of a revolutionary leader who deserts his own followers—his Storm-Troops—because public opinion will not stand for revolution, or for force and violence, or for "the Franco Way."

Yes, the facts remain. They tell a simple and direct story —one that cannot be laughed off by the American people or disavowed by the fountainhead from which it sprang; a story of how Father Coughlin inspired the creation of the Un-Christian Front, of how these revolutionaries—these "holy Bolsheviks"—took him at his word; of how, finally, they began to act upon his principles—and that meant revolution and a treasonably un-Christian and un-American attempt to overthrow American democracy by force.

EDITOR'S NOTE: Shortly after the F.B.I. had announced the arrest of seventeen members of the Christian Front, Father Coughlin issued a statement to the press in which he said: "I have roundly disavowed them." A few days later, on January 21, he completely reversed his stand and announced himself as a "friend of the accused," and expressed his desire to "stand beside the Christian Fronters."

THE PILLARS OF DEMOCRACY

God made the earth with its great resources for men to live on and to enjoy. It would seem that the only requirement for the fulfillment of this purpose is the readiness of men themselves to live together in cooperation and with good will toward one another. We believe in democracy not only because it best ministers to the fulfillment of individual personality. We believe in democracy because better than any other system of social organization it lays upon men the responsibility of learning to live together in cooperation and with good will toward one another. We are, in these days, learning afresh that unless we do live together in cooperation and with good will we shall all perish and our democracy will not survive.

Washington and Jefferson and Lincoln were great democrats not so much because they hated tyranny, but because they loved democracy and spent themselves in making it strong. They drove deep the pillars upon which the democratic structure rests. To serve democracy well in our time we must know what these pillars of democracy are and we must continue to build our society upon them.

The first pillar of democracy is the Ten Commandments which teach us our duty toward God and our duty toward our neighbors. They are all summed up in the later commandment to love God with all one's heart and mind and soul and strength, and to love one's neighbor as one's self. Above everything else the founders of America

knew what some of us are too ready to forget—that the rights for which we stand are bestowed upon all men by the Creator; they are not granted to some men by other men. Consequently, only where true religion is strong can democracy with its recognition of the rights of men be strong. We have a duty to deal justly toward our neighbors because they are men like ourselves, with the same rights and the same desires for life and happiness. If some are persecuted, if some are underprivileged, if some are deprived of opportunity, democracy suffers, because democracy is a system of government in which all must share equally regardless of race, religion or class.

The second pillar of democracy is the Declaration of Independence. If anyone is prepared to doubt this he should read the Declaration of Independence and see for himself. There he will find the American conviction that all men are created equal; that they are "endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness"; that governments exist not for themselves, but to secure these rights for the people; that the only powers governments have are those which they derive "from the consent of the governed"; that, whenever any form of government destroys the people's lives, or deprives them of liberty it is their right "to alter or abolish it," and to institute a new government which will provide for their "safety and happiness."

The third pillar of democracy is the Constitution of the United States. It was written to make real for Americans the principles in defense of which the Declaration of Independence had been written and for which the war had been fought. And it did. You may see how by reading the

preamble which declares that it is the *people* who ordained and established the Constitution in order that they might form "a more perfect union, establish Justice, insure domestic Tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general Welfare, and secure the Blessings of Liberty" to themselves and to us.

The Constitution provides, also, for elected representative government. Not government by a class, not government by a race—but government by men whom all the people choose. In addition, the Constitution provides for three branches of the Federal government: the Executive, the Legislative and the Judicial. The purpose behind this separation of functions is to prevent too much power from ever falling into the hands of one man or one group of men. The Constitution, likewise, provides that the will of the majority shall prevail even while the rights of minority groups are protected—another device, incidentally, aimed at tyranny.

The fourth pillar of democracy is the Bill of Rights. Comprising the first ten amendments to the Constitution, they provide, in general, for the safeguarding of personal rights and liberty such as: freedom of speech, press, and assembly; "the right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects against unreasonable searches and seizures"; the right to recourse to the law before being deprived of life, liberty or property; trial by jury and protection against excessive bail.

The fifth pillar of democracy is Lincoln's Gettysburg Address. It is of utmost importance because it sums up for all time what we mean by democracy: "government of the people, by the people and for the people." It is the final answer to all tyranny, the finest statement of the spirit

and method of popular government that we have. It states what is true of America: that the nation which our fathers brought forth upon this continent was "conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal." It calls upon Americans to rededicate themselves in every generation to meet new problems with the old ideals of democracy. Said Mr. Lincoln, "It is rather for us the living to dedicate ourselves to the unfinished task remaining before us; that we here highly resolve that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom, and that government of the people, by the people and for the people shall not perish from the earth."

These, then, are the pillars of American democracy. The Ten Commandments, the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution of the United States, the Bill of Rights and Lincoln's Gettysburg Address. They are of more than historical importance. They are vital; they are real; they have made America. Every American lives under their influence and every day, in a thousand ways, they affect his life.

For instance, the next time you ride in a subway train, look about and see what the people are reading. Here you will see a man reading William Randolph Hearst's *Journal-American*. There you will see another perusing Ogden Reid's *Herald-Tribune*. Another gleans the news from Roy Howard's *World-Telegram*. Another reads the pages of George Backer's *Post*. Another Arthur Sultzberger's *Times*. And still another does his best with Earl Browder's *Daily Worker*. These people are reading a cross-section of American reaction to the day's news. No one thinks of interfering; and no one would dare.

No such thing is possible today in Russia or Germany

where the press is state-controlled like everything else, and where citizens have nothing to say about what kind of government they shall have or who shall do the governing. Russia and Germany are not built upon the pillars of democracy.

Consider again, that in all great American cities, thousands of policemen help us keep order and preserve the peace. No one, except the guilty, is afraid of them and many of us know policemen as our friends and neighbors. I have seen them, as you have, helping children across the streets. At Christmas time the police in America act as Santa Claus to needy children. At all times, they help the lost to find their way home; they protect our public gatherings against intrusion by hoodlums and hecklers; they assist the aged and the weak. They are a symbol of American liberty under law.

We in America do not suffer from oppression by the police because we recognize that citizens have rights for the protection of which the police force exists. Like all other agents of government in America, the police are here not to subdue our citizens but to serve them; not to intimidate them but to help them. This, too, is a result of the fact that America is built upon the pillars of democracy—a fact that means something to us today when we consider that the Gestapo in Germany and the Ogpu in Russia are symbols of the State's oppression of the masses. Their function is to spy upon the people, to report them, to arrest them without charge, to imprison them apart from court action and to torture them. Russia and Germany are not built upon the pillars of democracy.

Into every home, church and synagogue; into every business, club and labor union—into every activity—the prin-

ciples of our democracy reach during every day of the year. Go into an American school room. You will see boys and girls there who come from well-to-do families as well as poor families. You will see children from Protestant homes, Catholic homes and Jewish homes. You will observe that the teacher is their guide who instructs them in the knowledge of principles and ideals, and in the formation of judgment values.

Go into a Nazi school room. There you will see children from only so-called Aryan homes. Others—the so-called non-Aryans—are denied even the right to such education as the land affords. You will observe that the teacher's function is not to teach truth as such, but Nazi ideas and Nazi slogans. The teacher is the children's master who must stifle intelligent inquiry in the interest of stupid obedience to the dictator and the state. One school room is in America which is built upon the pillars of democracy. The other is in Nazi Germany which is not.

Let's consider some other experiences in our daily life. Recently the President spoke over the radio. You listened to him if you wanted to. But when Hitler speaks, all Germany must listen. Recently in Nazi Germany a man was sent to prison for fifteen months for the crime of listening to a foreign radio broadcast. In America, you may at this moment listen without fear to any broadcast that you choose. Or you go to the movies and watch the news reel. You hear some people cheer those of whom they approve as their pictures appear on the screen. Or you hear some of them hiss those of whom they disapprove. No one molests them, for it all happens in the good-natured atmosphere of free America. Go to a baseball game in the summertime, take off your coat and roll up your shirt

sleeves. Then settle down to yell yourself hoarse in support of your favorite team and make the umpire's ears burn every time he decides against it. Some people may not like what you do, but it's summertime, and this is baseball, and this is America. No organized cheering for the Fuehrer here, no worked-up enthusiasm. No penalty for shouting and no penalty for not shouting at all.

Do you belong to a lodge, a service club, a fraternal organization of any kind? You may if you want to in America; not so in Communist Russia or Nazi Germany. Do you believe in unions and do you belong to one? You may in America; not so in Communist Russia or Nazi Germany. Are you a Democrat, a Republican, a Socialist? Belong to any political party you choose. But in Russia, you are a Communist and in Germany you are a Nazi or else you will soon be either a prisoner or a corpse. Are you a Jew or a Christian—or neither? It makes no difference. In America we all have the same privileges and the same rights. Anyone who is a citizen may run for office and our government is administered by many races and many faiths.

We know this and we are proud of it. It is understandable, therefore, why Americans resented the presence of Coughlinite picket lines, and the ugly, un-Christian discrimination against Jews and others urged by the Un-Christian Front in America. It was all out of harmony with the American tradition from start to finish. It was an attempt to tear down the pillars of democracy. And it has been properly rebuked by the American people.

If equal justice, freedom and opportunity are not always and everywhere put into practice in American life it is our right and our purpose to see that they are put into

practice just as soon as can be. At present we are much concerned about unemployment in America. We hear that, in this age of machinery, democracy must meet new situations by intelligent planning so that each may have security without any losing his liberty. If the needs of this industrial age do require such planning we do not have to fear it if we approach the matter with a full knowledge of American principles as they are contained in the Ten Commandments, the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, the Bill of Rights and the Gettysburg Address: namely, that this is, and must remain, a government of all the people without respect to race or religion; that this is, and must remain, a government administered by elected representatives of all the people regardless of their race or religion.

Within this framework we need not fear to go ahead and to plan whatever is necessary for the security and happiness of ourselves and our children. Planning is not for us, as it is for Germany and Russia, an end in itself, designed to promote the power of a dictator and to make the individual but a cog in a machine. "Organization by intelligence" in America does not mean "discipline by force" as in Germany and Russia.

In short, the pillars of democracy make civilized living possible for us. For this reason we must strengthen them, for, as Professor Irwin Edman eloquently writes in his book *Candle in the Dark*, "If we cease to keep alive the things that are civilized in our society, our land is destroyed without a bomb bursting or an invader landing on our shores." Keeping clearly in mind the pillars of democracy, we work out our problems as we go along by a general pooling of the wisdom and interests of the people.

We believe that if all of us—farmers, workers, businessmen, professional people, educators, housewives—agree on one step at a time, we have a better chance to create a better world than we would have if we gambled our entire fate on a Hitler or a Stalin. For the dictator crushes all and saves none. Our method aims to crush none but to save all, by making possible for all, security, and for each, more liberty, more justice and more opportunity.

EARLIER ADDRESSES ON COUGHLINISM

MY ANSWER TO FATHER COUGHLIN

The radio addresses of the Rev. Charles E. Coughlin of Detroit are matters of grave concern not only to all Americans but to all Christians likewise. They are of grave concern to all Americans because the import of them has been to bestir racial hatred against the Jewish people in a country whose traditions, laws and institutions are the expression of racial and religious equality. They are of grave concern to all Christians because they invite us to deny a fundamental teaching of our faith that we love our neighbors as ourselves and that we must be Christ's ambassadors of good will always, to all men, everywhere. And the addresses of Father Coughlin tend to influence us to depart from this teaching of Christianity and to embrace a doctrine of hatred toward a people to whom we owe Christianity itself. What influences people so profoundly to follow so un-Christian and so un-American a course is the concern of us all, for men must be protected against the way of evil and error.

The way of evil and error in this case is the hatred of the Jewish race. A careful perusal of what Father Coughlin has said will show that, regardless of his intentions, his words have linked the Jewish people with an unpopular social and economic movement known as Communism. And by this and allied means he has placed this race in a most unfavorable light. His line of reasoning is very clever but nonetheless distasteful.

His contention is that Nazism is the effect of Communism and that it is a defense mechanism against Communism. His contention is that there will always exist against Communism some defense "characterized by persecution" as long "as misguided Jews and Gentiles, in such great numbers, continue to propagate the doctrines of anti-God, anti-Christ, anti-patriotism and anti-property."

The definition of Nazism as a defense mechanism against Communism, the statement that "there will always exist some defense mechanism against Communism" which will be "characterized by persecution" is an oversimplification of fact. There are many of us, including the President of the United States, who believe that the best defense against Communism is not Nazism, but Democracy, and more Democracy, a way not "characterized by persecution." There is the answer to Communism of Pope Pius XI—a way not "characterized by persecution." There are the pronouncements of the Bishops of the Episcopal Church, which point to a way not "characterized by persecution." It gives us pause to wonder why Father Coughlin cannot see, as the answer to Communism, any other way than that of Nazism, or some other defense mechanism "characterized by persecution." Why cannot he, who describes himself as the defender of Americanism, find in American Democracy the answer to both Fascism and Communism? Are these words of his an invitation to the Nazi forces in America to set up their defenses here against Communism—defenses "characterized by persecution"?

It will be noted that in the statement of Father Coughlin quoted above he places Gentiles with Jews as the agents responsible for Communism. It may be further

noted that his speeches are interlarded throughout with references to atheistic Jews and Gentiles, the purpose being to make us think that the speaker is harmlessly impartial.

But as he proceeds, the Gentile agents who are responsible for Communism gradually cease to be of importance. The weight of his argument is gradually but certainly thrown against the Jews. Thus, he goes on to say that "it is the belief of the German government, be it well or ill founded, that Jews were responsible for the economic and social ills suffered by the Fatherland since the signing of the Treaty of Versailles." Our attention is drawn here only to Jews. Nothing is said about the German dislike for the Treaty of Versailles itself, which was drawn up by Gentiles, and to the destruction of which treaty the Hitler government is committed, so intense is its belief that Germany's economic and social ills were due to it as well as to Jewish influence.

Continuing, he says that the Nazi movement was formed "to rid the Fatherland of Communists whose leaders, unfortunately, they indentified with the Jewish race." At this point he identifies the Jews not only with the ills suffered by the Fatherland but also with Communism. No mention is even made, no concession granted, that in all of Germany there were any Gentile Communists. Again—and more strongly now—the weight of the argument is thrown against the Jews, who are painted as at once the destroyers of Germany and one with the Communist movement.

As to the responsibility of the Jews for "the economic and social ills suffered by the Fatherland," it is not enough to offer as the only proof of so serious an accusation that

"it is the belief of the German government." We should expect the German government to say so. We also expect the German government to be prejudiced in the matter. But we should not expect that any responsible person in American public life would estimate the intelligence of the American people so lightly as to ask them, in a national broadcast, to believe this moth-eaten bit of Nazi propaganda, propaganda intended to arouse hatred for the Jews, propaganda that justifies a defense mechanism against Communism—"characterized by persecution."

On the other hand, there are many facts about the Jews in Germany before the rise of Hitler to power to indicate that the Jewish-Communist link cannot be forged. We might cite the fact that some of the leading newspapers in Germany at that time were Jewish-owned and opposed to Communism. We might cite the fact that the economic interests of the Jews in Germany at that time made them, of necessity, the opponents of Communism. We might cite the fact that in pre-Nazi Germany the Jews who voted were members of the liberal democratic parties for the most part. We could appeal to Mr. George N. Shuster, who in the Roman Catholic magazine *Commonweal* for December 30, 1938, said that foremost among those who waged the struggle to keep Bolshevism from getting control of the Reich government were five prominent Jews: Max Cohen-Rouss, Karl Kautsky, Eduard Bernstein, Karl Hilferding and Friedrich Stampfer. But we do not have to mention these things. We have only to recall that before the Nazis came into power the Communist voting strength in Germany was 6,000,000. And in all of Germany there were only some 300,000 Jews who had the right to vote. If these 300,000 Jews had all voted

Communist, what would they have amounted to among 6,000,000?

From this point the argument moves more rapidly and with less discretion than formerly. It is charged that in 1917 "of the twenty-five quasi-cabinet members" of the Soviet Republic "twenty-four of them were atheistic Jews," whose names Father Coughlin said he had before him. The Jews and Communism again! That in 1935 "the Central Committee of the Communist Party operating in Russia consisted of fifty-nine members" and that among them were fifty-six Jews and that the three remaining non-Jews were married to Jewesses." The Jews and Communism again, with their wives thrown in for good measure this time!

Where, we may ask, did Father Coughlin get his information to substantiate this charge. At first he unblushingly admitted that these lists of names were published by the Nazis, who are so prejudiced against the Jews that we must discount the value of their evidence.

But in his broadcast on November 27, 1938 Father Coughlin answered the question by referring to a book called *The Mystical Body of Christ in the Modern World*, written by the Rev. Denis Fahey, professor of philosophy at Blackrock Seminary, Dublin, Ireland. Here, implied Father Coughlin, is the proof. Is it proof? Let me refer you to an article in the magazine *Commonweal* for December 30, 1938 written by the Very Rev. Msgr. John A. Ryan, professor of moral theology and industrial ethics in the Catholic University of America.

In this article Msgr. Ryan examines Father Fahey's book from which Father Coughlin says that he obtained his information about the number of Jews in the Russian

government under the Communists in 1917 and 1935. Msgr. Ryan asks where Father Fahey got this first list of names. And he answers by saying, "From a weekly paper published in London called the *Patriot!*" The *Patriot*, Msgr. Ryan claims, is definitely anti-Semitic. "Indeed," says Msgr. Ryan, "Father Fahey's book itself may fairly be put in the same category." So once more Father Coughlin, seeking to align the Jews with Communism, goes to an anti-Jewish source. But, asks Msgr. Ryan, where did the *Patriot* get this list of names? And he answers, "Purportedly from the issue of March 6, 1920 of the *Documentation Catholique* of Paris, a publication whose statements, of course, have not the authority of the Church." And where did this journal get the list of names? Msgr. Ryan answers again, "From an alleged report made by the American Secret Service to the French High Commissioner."

Putting this chain of evidence together, we now understand that Father Coughlin relied for his so-called evidence against the Jews on Professor Fahey's book, which "itself may fairly be regarded as anti-Jewish." That Father Fahey relied on the *Patriot*, a paper that is definitely anti-Jewish. That the *Patriot* relied on the *Documentation Catholique*, a paper that does not speak with the authority of the Church. That the *Documentation Catholique* relied upon a report of the American Secret Service. Therefore, the American Secret Service report is the root source for the Jewish names of those who composed the Communist government in Russia in 1917. Unfortunately for this alleged evidence, Mr. Frank J. Wilson, Chief of the United States Secret Service, said on November 28, 1938, "I have investigated our records and questioned members of the

service who were on duty from 1916 to 1920, including my predecessor, William H. Moran, with respect to the statements made and quoted by Father Coughlin. They know of no such investigation or report as that which Father Coughlin discussed, and it is quite certain that no such report was ever made by the United States Secret Service."

When pressed for the proof of his statement on November 20, 1938 that in 1935 "the Central Committee of the Communist Party operating in Russia consisted of fifty-nine members, among whom were fifty-six Jews," Father Coughlin replied on November 27 by going again to Father Fahey's book, page 90. But, says Msgr. Ryan, "It is not found at all in Father Fahey's book, either on page 90 or on any other page."

Are the Jews responsible for Communism in Russia? If they are, this is not the kind of evidence that will prove it.

But we can go further in relieving the Jews of the charge that they are responsible for Communism in Russia and from the subsequent charge that they persecuted the Christians there.

We go to Professor Hugo Valentin, professor of history in Upsala University, Sweden (not a Jew), the author of a book called *Anti-Semitism, Historically and Critically Examined.* We go to Professor Valentin's book and learn that "even in 1922, after several years of intensive Bolshevising, the Jewish element amounted to only 19,526 members or 5.2% of the party." We learn that "the Commissariat for the Administration of Jewish Affairs, appointed by Lenin's government, issued a manifesto on March 15, 1918, attacking the Jewish workers for their anti-Bolshevist attitude." That "in the Ukraine in 1918 the Jewish

workers with arms in their hands made common cause with the Jewish bourgeoisie against Bolshevism—that as two-fifths of the Jews of Russia lived by private trade and one-third by handicrafts, the putting in force of Communism meant greater catastrophe for Jews than for any other section of the Russian people." That "most of the Jewish workers and many of the intellectual and semi-intellectual proletariat belonged either to the Social Revolutionary or to the Menshevik Party, both of which took their stand on social-democratic principles, were hostile to the anti-democratic Bolsheviks and were soon to be cruelly persecuted by them."

All of this is not to say that among Russian Communists there were no Jews. Naturally there were some Jews —some few Jews. But to attempt to arouse the anger of a whole country against a race by identifying it with the "economic and social ills" of Germany and with the murder of twenty million Christians in Russia—the while mouthing unctuous words about "good" Jews, "sincere" Jews—is to disregard all the facts and to go a long way toward setting race against race and religion against religion in this country.

Father Coughlin goes further. So must we. He goes to a Jewish publication, *The American Hebrew* for September 20, 1920, and seeks to convict the Jews out of their own mouths of the charges that he levels against them. He says, quoting *The American Hebrew*, "The achievement, the Russian Jewish Revolution—destined to figure in history as the overshadowing result of the World War —was largely the outcome of Jewish thinking, of Jewish discontent, of Jewish effort to reconstruct."

I obtain a copy of that magazine for September 20,

1920 from the Broadman Library of the World War in New York City. It is significant for stating exactly the opposite of that which Father Coughlin made it appear to say. It does not use the phrase "Russian Jewish Revolution" at all, anywhere. It was not written by a Jew. It was written by a non-Jew. It asks the question, will the world follow the course that led to its blood-bath in 1914 or will it "adopt some principle approaching the Golden Rule as the basis of its political and economic statesmanship?" It goes on to point out that "the Golden Rule, as too many of us non-Jews are too apt to forget, is a Jewish principle. It is the expression of a Jewish discontent with social, economic and political conditions that existed in Palestine and in the world nineteen centuries ago." It points out that the unrest caused by the Golden Rule, formulated through Jewish lips in Christ's Sermon on the Mount, finally resulted in the "annihilation of the most firmly entrenched, the most selfish and the most reckless autocratic system in the world, Russian Czarism." *This* is what the author meant as being "largely the outcome of Jewish thinking, of Jewish discontent, of Jewish effort to reconstruct"—the fall of the Czar. This was not caused by the Bolshevik Revolution. This was caused by the Kerensky Revolution, a revolution in which the Grand Duke Michael figured to become regent, a revolution supported by the Allies, a revolution commended by Theodore Roosevelt, a revolution that occurred in March, 1917, and a revolution which was itself overthrown by the Bolshevist Revolution on November 17, 1917. Father Coughlin did not tell us that. In other words, the article in *The American Hebrew* did not say that the Communist Revolution was the outcome largely of "Jewish think-

ing, of Jewish discontent, of Jewish effort to reconstruct."

It is, however, when Father Coughlin quotes from the "official White Paper issued by the English War Cabinet in 1919," which he said he has in his possession, that he errs most flagrantly. This paper, known as Russia No. 1, may be found in its original form in the British Library of Information in New York City. It may be found in its abridged form in the New York Public Library.

If we study this paper as it was first issued, that is, in the original form, we find nothing in it to support Father Coughlin's charge that "this official paper prints the names of the Jewish bankers, Kuhn, Loeb and Company, of New York, among those who helped to finance the Russian Revolution and Communism." Kuhn, Loeb and Company are not even mentioned in this White Paper. Father Coughlin attempts to establish his claim by printing a photostatic copy of report No. 6 of the White Paper in his magazine, *Social Justice*, for January 23, 1939. But in this report, as reproduced by Father Coughlin himself, one looks in vain for any reference to Kuhn, Loeb and Company. Let me suggest that it is impossible to prove an alleged fact by disregarding it and by calling attention to another statement that has nothing to do with the first one. Let me repeat that in the original White Paper which is in the British Library of Information in New York City there is no mention of Kuhn, Loeb and Company among those who helped to finance the Russian Revolution and Communism as charged.

When this fact was first called to Father Coughlin's attention, he replied by appealing not only to the White Paper again but also to the book by Professor Fahey, from which I have already quoted, to the effect that "the

chief document treating of the financing of the Russian Revolution is the one drawn up by the American Secret Service." Then follow the names of the American Jewish bankers who "were engaged in this work of destruction." They are: Jacob Schiff, Guggenheim, Max Breitung, Kuhn, Loeb and Company, of which the following are directors: Jacob Schiff, Felix Warburg, Otto Kahn, Mortimer Schiff, S. H. Hanauer.

It does not matter that, as we have already observed, Chief Wilson of the American Secret Service denied any knowledge of this report. It does not matter that the *New York Times* for November 29 quotes Kuhn, Loeb and Company as saying, "The firm of Kuhn, Loeb and Co. has never had any financial relations, or other relations, with any government in Russia, whether Czarist, Kerensky, or Communist." None of this matters.

But what does matter is that I have in my possession a Nazi paper called *World Service*, published twice monthly in six languages in Erfurt, Germany. It is a paper that describes itself as an information sheet which deals with "the machinations of the Jewish underworld"—a sheet which, accordingly, forms a "necessary part of the intellectual armory of every Gentile." This issue is for February 15, 1936. And on page 2 it states: "In February, 1916, it was noticed for the first time that a revolution was being prepared in Russia. It was ascertained that the following banking houses were participants in this work of destruction: Jacob Schiff, Kuhn, Loeb & Co., Jewish banking house with directors Jacob Schiff, Felix Warburg, Otto Kahn, Mortimer Schiff, Jerome H. Hanauer, Guggenheim, Max Breitung"—a statement and a list of names that tallies exactly with the statement and list of names

quoted by Father Coughlin. What is the source of Father Coughlin's information? The British White Paper? No. The American Secret Service report? No. What, then, is the source? The same as that upon which the Nazi propaganda sheet, *World Service*, relies.

We cannot escape asking how it happens that Father Coughlin, who assures us that he opposes both Fascism and Communism, who assures us that he is the defender of Americanism, so often finds Fascist sources so congenial to his own purposes. The *New York Post* for December 31, 1938 published in parallel columns a speech delivered on September 13, 1935 by the Nazi Minister of Propaganda, Dr. Goebbels, and an article by Father Coughlin in the December 5, 1938 issue of *Social Justice*. And over and over again we are amazed to observe that they both resort to the same charges against the Jews and that they both use even the same words in many instances. The explanation of Father Coughlin's representative is, "We never saw the speech by Goebbels. The material available to us was naturally also available to him." Yet it is important for the champion of Americanism, the opponent of Fascism and Communism, to explain why to defend Americanism he must go to sources that please the Nazis—the Nazis, who ridicule democracy and are, with the Communists, its enemies.

After all there are plenty of sources to which Father Coughlin might go to find out what Americanism is if he wants to join those of us who mean to defend it against both Fascism and Communism. But let him stop this glorification of Nazism. Let him cease going to foreign and undemocratic sources for his so-called facts as the guide for Americans.

Let him go to Washington and Jefferson and Franklin and Lincoln. Let him go to the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States. Let him steep himself in American history and learn why our forefathers came to this country. Let him go to the old cemeteries in New York and Boston and Richmond and Arlington and learn from our heroic dead why they died. And let him from those honored dead take, with the rest of us, "increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion"—the cause of liberty and justice and racial equality.

IS COUGHLINISM AMERICANISM?

Between Coughlinism and Americanism there is not now, nor can there ever be, any similarity.

For our description of Americanism we shall not go to a foreign, Fascist government. We shall not quote its sources as Father Coughlin is so fond of doing. We shall go to an American source. We shall go to the Declaration of Independence. And there, in the second paragraph, we read: "We hold these truths to be self-evident: That all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." So wrote our forefathers.

Unalienable rights are rights with which men are born. They are not bestowed by man. They are given by the Creator of man. They are as much a part of every human life as are the members of the body—the arms, the ears, the eyes, the nose. Unalienable rights are, consequently, rights that cannot be taken away from any man without inflicting upon him an injury as grave as that of cutting off his arms or ears—as grave as that of putting out his eyes.

In that sense "all men are created equal." In that sense all men have a right to "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." So wrote Thomas Jefferson—an American—in the Declaration of Independence, an American document to which we go to learn what Americanism is.

If Father Coughlin should, by any chance, be per-

suaded to read in this American source a definition of Americanism, if he should be persuaded to cease referring to sources congenial to the un-American Nazis, he would discover that our forefathers made no distinction between American citizens. He would discover that our forefathers made no attempt to align Gentiles against Jews, or Christians against citizens who were not Christians. He would discover that for them, all men, Jews and Gentiles alike, are created equal; that all men, Jews and Gentiles alike, are endowed by their Creator with certain rights which cannot be taken away from them—among which are "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." He would learn from them that in America, therefore, only one who is untrue to our tradition ever tries to divide our citizens into warring camps. He would learn that in America we have no room for any kind of front except an American front, composed of all men who are created equal and endowed by their Creator with certain rights which cannot be taken away from them.

But Coughlinism, intent upon destroying American unity, uses every device within its power to divide our people. Its theme is: Gentile against Jew, Christian against non-Christian. Gentile wrath against the Jews is fanned by painting the Jew as a murderer and the enemy of religion.

Dr. Goebbels, the Nazi minister of propaganda and a confessed anti-Semite, does it in these words in a speech delivered on September 13, 1935: "In 1919, during the Bolshevik regime, Bela Kun, a Jew, whose real name was Aaron Cohn, murdered twenty hostages in Budapest."

Father Coughlin does it in practically the same words

in the issue of *Social Justice* of December 5, 1938 except that he makes the number murdered not twenty, but twenty thousand. "In 1919, Hungary, a neighbor to Germany, was overrun with Communists. The notorious atheist, Bela Kun, a Jew whose real name was Aaron Cohn, murdered twenty thousand."

You will note the similarity of Dr. Goebbels' language and Father Coughlin's words. You will also recall that Dr. Goebbels does not pretend to hide the fact that he deliberately seeks to prejudice German people who are not Jews against German people who are Jews.

Why does Father Coughlin address the same words to Americans? Does he think that, impressed by such alleged charges as he makes, Americans who are not Jews will be drawn closer to Americans who are Jews? On the contrary, he must know such words are designed to create hatred between Americans who are not Jews and Americans who are Jews. He must know that the result of such words spoken by Dr. Goebbels has been to take from the German-Jews their unalienable rights of "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." He must know, further, that his words, addressed to Americans, will, if believed by enough people, result in taking from American Jews these same rights which the signers of the American Declaration of Independence declared belong to all men, Gentile and Jew, Christian and non-Christian, in free America. And let him know finally, that therein lies the destruction of democracy, the ghastly defamation of the Declaration of Independence, the contemptuous mockery of Americanism and its founders.

But, Father Coughlin will plead, "I do not mean it that way." That is not a convincing plea. For many others

have already taken it that way. The Honorable Frank J. Hogan, president of the American Bar Association, took it that way. In a radio address on Sunday, December 11, 1938, he said, "—it is against the spreading of the fertilizer of race hatred and religious bigotry here, here in America, that I protest this Sunday afternoon." The German-American Bund took it that way. At their rally in Madison Square Garden, according to the *New York Herald-Tribune*, "The attack on the Jews increased in vehemence with the next speaker, George Froboese, of Milwaukee, Mid-Western leader of the bund, who pleaded for a 'financially and economically independent and Jew-free America.' He told how Italy, Hungary, Austria and Spain had succeeded in 'freeing themselves' and warned against the Oriental cunning of the Jew, Karl Marx Mordecai. A mention of the name of Chancellor Adolf Hitler of Germany drew loud cheers, which grew even louder when he mentioned Benito Mussolini. The greatest ovation of the night, however, followed the mention of Father Charles E. Coughlin, Detroit radio priest, whom Froboese praised." This is the same Froboese who earlier had called for a "Jew-free America." And that is the way in which the anti-Jewish Bund understands what Father Coughlin means.

The Nazis in Germany likewise recognize Father Coughlin as one whose purpose is the same as their own, while at the same time they ridicule Americans and things American. The *Nation* for December 3, 1938 says editorially, "Otto D. Tolischus, German correspondent of the New York *Times*, reports that Coughlin is a hero in the Reich." A hero in the Reich while Christians there—about whom Father Coughlin is so concerned—are jailed,

stoned, mocked, persecuted!

And that is the way in which people who ought to know, understand what Coughlinism means—Gentile against Jew, non-Christian against Christian—and finally the loss by millions of our citizens of their unalienable rights among which are "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness," which the American Declaration of Independence states belongs to them.

Therein Coughlinism destroys Americanism.

It begins by depriving one minority, the Jews, of their unalienable rights. It ends by destroying these rights completely for everyone. The Honorable Frank J. Hogan said in the same radio address from which I quoted above, "One thing is becoming clear to serious students of history: that the Jews have become the barometer of democracy throughout the world. Where they are oppressed, as in Germany, democracy and freedom have been utterly destroyed, and Christians have also suffered. Where they are the equals of all other citizens, as in America, democracy lives and flourishes, and all men are free, whatever their faith."

And Dr. Christian Gauss, dean of the college of Princeton University, told the United Chapters of Phi Beta Kappa, "Democracy ends where the persecution of minorities begins. Each of us belongs to some minority. It may be our turn next."

Coughlinism, beginning with its attack upon the Jews, ends with an attack upon all minority groups which displease it. Father Coughlin himself said in his broadcast on January 1, 1939: "Let those who are with us reap the rewards; let those who oppose us by their silence or their actions suffer the consequences." What words of childish


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threatening have we here? From whence came the anointing of this man to make it his prerogative to bestow rewards or to mete out punishments to the citizens of the United States of America? Does he dream of filling the shoes of Adolf Hitler in this country? It becomes clearer and clearer that Coughlinism, having robbed the Jews of their rights, intends to proceed to take from all others who oppose it their rights, too—their American rights—their rights which the Declaration of Independence declares cannot be taken from them.

Coughlinism destroys Americanism.

It aims to cause so much strife, so much hatred, so much suspicion, so much fear as to paralyze those social, economic and political functions upon which a democratic society rests. It aims to prevent democracy from working. And then—the dictatorship.

This scheme to divide Americans against Americans is well timed. It is timed for these days when we need a greater American unity than ever before to solve, in our united strength, the problems of unemployment, national defense, the reconstruction of agriculture, public health, taxation, collective bargaining, wages and hours.

Dr. Alvin Johnson, Director of the Division of Educational Studies in the Graduate School of Yale University, writes in the *Survey Graphic* for February, 1939: "Our American democracy is far from a finished job. We are far from having attained satisfactory formulae concerning the relations of employer and employe, of city and county, of state and individual. We know well that if we can fight our political campaigns on these real issues, we can make whatever adjustments are necessary to the evolving requirements of the times. We can move

toward a better state without revolutionary shock and disaster."

"The injection of a purely fantastic and corrupt issue like anti-Semitism menaces this orderly evolution of our national life." Thus it is that a great economist and social scientist, Dr. Johnson, estimates this anti-Jewish issue. He calls it a "purely fantastic and corrupt issue" and pronounces it a threat to the "orderly evolution of our national life."

Once more, Coughlinism destroys Americanism, and with it "the orderly evolution of our national life."

But, Coughlinism, blinded by its hate, does not see clearly. It imagines that this is Germany. It imagines that, even as Hitler used anti-Semitism to overthrow German democracy, so it can use anti-Semitism to overthrow American democracy. Says Dr. Johnson again in the *Survey Graphic* for February, 1939: "True, anti-Semitism enabled Hitler to overthrow the German democracy. But it was a weak democracy, forced upon a defeated people who had never had the opportunity to develop democrats, and without real democrats democracy is a mere book definition. It was a democracy sore with defeat, repeatedly humiliated and mistreated by the victors. German democracy was struggling to its feet, and might have done so if it had not been afflicted with endemic anti-Semitism, which Hitler could fan into a flame."

But this is America. Our democracy is one hundred and fifty years old. We have weathered the storm of armed civil strife with it. We have reached the place of preeminence among nations with it. This is no weak democracy, "struggling to its feet." This is a strong democracy which has never been down. And this strong

democracy, seasoned and sure, will not let its essential unity be destroyed by those who seek to destroy it by introducing the "purely fantastic and corrupt issue" of anti-Semitism, and by this means to draw this great nation from her primary task of reconstruction and readjustment, a task which demands the unification of all our people, the elimination of all antagonism and the rebirth of national good will.

Let us be sure where we stand as Americans. Let us be certain and proud of the fact that our forefathers knew no hatred of any race or of any religion. On the contrary, they saw in America a new nation where all men, the oppressed of the world, would find a new opportunity to be free, and in freedom rise to the full stature of manhood. We cannot but be amused, therefore, when Coughlinism, the enemy of Americanism, has the effrontery on the anniversary of the birthday of George Washington, to claim his blessing for their hatred and their work of destruction. To claim Washington of whom Henry Cabot Lodge said, "I see in him a pure and high-minded gentleman." To claim Washington who, in 1790, wrote to the Hebrew Congregation in Newport, Rhode Island, "The citizens of the United States of America have a right to applaud themselves for having given to mankind examples of an enlarged and liberal policy: a policy worthy of imitation. All possess alike liberty of conscience and immunities of citizenship. It is now no more that toleration is spoken of, as if it was by the indulgence of one class of people, that another enjoyed the exercise of their inherent natural rights. For happily the Government of the United States, which gives to bigotry no sanction, to persecution no assistance, requires only that they who live

under its protection should demean themselves as good citizens, in giving it on all occasions their effectual support. . . .

"May the children of the stock of Abraham, who dwell in this land, continue to merit and enjoy the good will of the other inhabitants; while everyone shall sit in safety under his own vine and fig tree, and there shall be none to make him afraid. May the father of all mercies scatter light and not darkness in our paths, and make us all in our several vocations useful here, and in his own due time and way everlastingly happy."

These are the words of George Washington, the father of our country. These are the words of a "pure and high-minded gentleman." In them you find no hatred against any of our citizens. In them you find no effort to range race against race or religion against religion. In them you have but one concern—the concern that all citizens should enjoy the blessings of this good land and give thanks for those blessings by giving "on all occasions their effectual support." In them you find no threats, no ominous words like those of Father Coughlin, "let those who oppose us by their silence or their actions suffer the consequences." For in them you hear the voice of true manhood and true Americanism.

In view of these words of George Washington, I call to mind the letter of a little fourteen-year-old girl who wrote to me that she was frightened by the increasing anti-Jewish agitation. I can well understand how this little girl feels as she hears the ugly rumblings of accusation against the Jewish people, as she sees the obscene posters screaming "Clean up America! Boycott the Jew!", as she finds herself more and more cut off from the

privileges, so dear to a child, of playing freely and happily with other children. I know what heartache and questioning lie behind her words about "the hungry wolf that was destroying the innocent sheep." I know that here, in the fear engendered in the heart of this child, lies the best description of Coughlinism. It frightened a little girl!

How can that be Americanism? How can that be Christianity? The Christianity of the merciful Christ who said, "Suffer the little children to come unto me, and forbid them not, for of such is the Kingdom of God."

To that little girl we say, Go to sleep this night in peace. Nothing will harm you. And remember to thank God that you live in America. And thank Him for our forefathers who suffered and built America on love and equality, who because they knew what persecution for race and religion was, determined to have none of it here. Be sure that America is too strong and too good ever to permit anyone to harm you because of your religion. And be not afraid.

Remember what you learned in Abraham Lincoln's Gettysburg Address. Remember how it starts: "Four score and seven years ago our fathers brought forth upon this continent a new nation, conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal. Now we are engaged in a great Civil War testing whether that nation or any nation so conceived and so dedicated can long endure." Let me repeat those last words for you: "testing whether that nation or any nation so conceived and so dedicated can long endure." Remember that we did pass that test and that America

still endures—our America which was "conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal." It still lives. It will continue to live and to live as the home of free men. Coughlinism will be forgotten as a bad dream of the moment. Americanism will live as the permanent reality, the dearest possession of a free people.

FASCISM THROUGH COUGHLINISM

We who are older must dedicate ourselves to the task of giving to our children a heritage of freedom at least as good as that which our fathers gave to us.

It is for this reason that we view Coughlinism as the greatest enemy of the moment of our common ideals, our common purposes and our American democracy. For the same reason we are opposed to Communism. It, too, is the enemy of our common purposes and our American Democracy.

Of all those in America who talk blithely of democracy, while at the same time the import of their words points directly at the destruction of democracy, no one makes a more determined bid for a following than does Father Coughlin. In 1936 Father Coughlin promised to abandon his radio broadcasts when his following practically forsook him after the Presidential election. But in Germany the Nazis had cried "Jew" and "Communist" and with this hymn of hate they stampeded the people into fascism. Thought Father Coughlin, "Perhaps the Nazi technique could work here, in America." So back on the air he went, and this time his theme became the Nazi theme, "The International Jew and Communism."

Make the word Jew distasteful to as many people as possible. Make the word Communism even more distasteful. Then make the Jews responsible for Commu-

nism so that one never speaks of Communism, but Jewish Communism. Then when the people have been deceived into believing that the Jews are hateful and that they are responsible for still more hateful Communism, it becomes possible to create a common front against Jews and Communism. It becomes possible to convince people that in order to save themselves from the danger of Jewish Communism they must unite under the banner of Nazism. It becomes possible to brand as communists and reds all who believe in Americanism and all who will not be duped into becoming Nazis. This too is in line with Adolf Hitler's dictum that "propaganda . . . does not have to seek objectively for the truth so far as it favors an opponent . . . but exclusively has to serve our interest."

And yet this line of propaganda which stirs up racial hatred is the one that Coughlinism pursues as it opens the door to fascism here. "The Jews and Communism!" is its cry even as it is the cry of the Nazis.

Did not Father Coughlin ask on November 20, 1938, "Why Nazism is so hostile to Jewry"? And did he not answer by saying that the German government believed that the "Jews were responsible for the economic and social ills of the Fatherland," that "a group of rebel Germans" under the leadership of Adolf Hitler organized their party to overthrow Communism, whose leaders unfortunately they identified with the Jewish race"? Did he not say that? And is not that the same language that the Nazis used?

In his broadcast on December 4, 1938 under the guise of proving "the viciousness of an inspired press whose editorial and news articles manifest a serious lack of re-

sponsibility and honesty," Father Coughlin discussed a statement credited to Mr. Henry Ford. This statement appeared in the Detroit *Free Press* and read: "In a statement severely critical of the Nazi persecution of the Jews, Henry Ford, on Wednesday night, declared that he favored the admission of persecuted Jews into this country under the selective quota system."

Quoting Msgr. Ryan on this matter in *Commonweal* for December 30, 1938, we read, "This statement was one of which no believer in human rights or in Christ's doctrines of brotherly love, need feel ashamed. Nevertheless, Father Coughlin asserted that the newspaper account of Ford's statement was 'totally inaccurate' and that Ford has subsequently asserted the conviction that there was 'little or no persecution in Germany.' "

Asks Msgr. Ryan: "Why did Father Coughlin think it necessary to drag into his address of December 4 the Ford statement? As noted above, that statement as published was entirely reasonable, and in complete accord with the Christian doctrine of brotherly love. The only adequate answer is that Father Coughlin is eager, or at least willing, to promote anti-Semitism in the United States." So Msgr. Ryan answers the question. And so we add that this is but another of many ways in which Coughlinism is reproducing here in America Nazi ways to accomplish Nazi purposes. This is the Nazi method. This is fascism which Coughlinism is attempting to introduce into American life. This is the fascism that mocks democracy, the fascism that robs our people of their civil rights, that forbids freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of peaceable public assemblage and freedom of worship. This is fascism that sets race against

race and makes men pawns of the totalitarian states. And this is the plague that Coughlinism is trying to persuade you to welcome in America. Even as he offers you one of those sugar-coated pills of which he is so fond of talking.

For as Nazism and Communism have their pills to cure the ills of the body politic, so Coughlinism has its pills too. In a recent broadcast Father Coughlin administered a rather large dose of his particular brand of medicine to the American people for the alleviation of their distress.

In this he followed another accredited method of Nazi technique. For, having stirred up the people against the Jews, it now becomes necessary to offer a program around which hatred can organize itself. That is what Hitler did.

Konrad Heiden in his book, *Hitler, A Biography*, page 77, writes: "Hitler declared that the Party could not subsist any longer without a program . . . without a program it could not get at the big public, and it must get at them." This was in 1919. So it was that on February 25, 1920 the Nazis announced the program to the world. It had twenty-five points. Its object was to "get at the big public." It sought to satisfy as many of the discontented people of Germany as it could. It demanded "equality of rights for the German People in its dealings with other nations." It stated that "no Jew may be a member of the nation." It demanded that "the state shall make it its first duty to promote the industry and livelihood of citizens of the state." It stated that "personal enrichment due to a war must be regarded as a crime against the nation" and demanded "ruthless confiscation of all war gains." It demanded "nationalization of all businesses

which have been up to the present formed into companies (trusts)." It demanded "that the profits from wholesale trade shall be shared out." It demanded "land reform suitable to our national requirements, passing of a law for confiscation without compensation of land for communal purposes; abolition of interest on land loans, and prevention of speculation in land." All of this and more it demanded because Hitler knew that without a program he "could not get at the big public."

In the same book quoted above Konrad Heiden says on page 78: "By many of these points Hitler was unsuspectingly laying trammels on himself. He was silent about them later; he said nothing against the program; he never mentioned it; he simply ignored it. But Goebbels, eleven years later, was expressing the secret feelings of the Fuehrer when he exclaimed to Lieutenant Scheringer, "Would to Heaven that we had never heard of these 'wretched twenty-five points.' "

In like manner, and true to Nazi form, Father Coughlin appeared last Sunday with his program by means of which he too, like Hitler, hopes to get at the "big public." Like Hitler and true to Nazi form, he says that he offers this program to make Christian Americanism prevail, although in his anti-Jewish campaign he has previously violated every principle of both Christianity and Americanism. Such inconsistencies do not bother the Nazis. They must get the "big public."

And so having outraged the American conscience he sets forth as the first principle of his program "liberty of conscience and of education." That, he feels, will appeal to the American people. He thinks that they are so stupid as to have forgotten the numerous ways in which he

has consistently outraged that principle himself by his attacks on the Jews. But, since he must, Nazi-fashion, get the "big public," this, he thinks, will do for a start—"liberty of conscience and education." Only so short a time ago as December 11, 1938, he upbraided the Jews of Bridgeport and Cleveland for insisting upon this principle for themselves, ending with a vague threat, "my fellow Jews—please understand our Christian attitude toward all this: you are a minority—a small but powerful minority. We are a majority—an easygoing, patient majority—but a majority always conscious of our latent power."

But Father Coughlin knows that others among the "big public" must be pleased if he is to capture them for Nazism. He calls for "a just living annual wage" for "every breadwinner who is able and willing to work." He calls for Nationalization of "certain public resources"—he stands for private property. Here he is interested in "laborers and small farmers." To get his public he is careful to please them all if possible. He calls for "control of private property for the public good." Here he barely avoids the Socialist principle of production for use, not for profit, by saying that his program calls for "production for use at a profit to all." A very clever twist that will, no doubt, please both Socialists and Capitalists—until they are caught in the Coughlin net of Nazism.

He calls for "ample purchasing power" and price regulation. Here he pleases both the workingman and the manufacturer. In the eighth principle Father Coughlin makes a truly startling discovery, for he says that "all industry and all citizens depend upon the farmer . . . for

food." This is wonderful because most of us never knew that our food came from farms. But every farmer will be glad to know that Coughlinism has not forgotten him in its program to get the "big public." Labor comes in for its share too, for we read that labor has the right to organize. That too is new, especially when we recall that during the last seven years that right has already been pretty generally recognized in America. But labor is necessary to Father Coughlin's success, and he trusts organized labor will forget what happened to it in Italy, Germany and Russia. Capital too is allowed to organize under Coughlinism. Every capitalist will no doubt be overjoyed to know this. Coughlinism also advocates a "simplification of government." The simplest form of government is one-man rule. Does Father Coughlin mean this? We are also informed that Coughlinism is for taking the profit out of war—another principle advocated many times before. And finally we learn that this program of liberation aims at nothing less than the "sanctity of human rights" over those of property—another principle long dear to the hearts of the Socialists.

And there we have Father Coughlin trying to be all things to all men. Like Hitler he would win us to his cause against Jewish Communism by a program that sounds most flattering. Flattering—until you dig down to the motives of Coughlinism. Flattering—if you forget for the moment the fierce and unprovoked attacks on a portion of our citizens. Flattering—if you forget that Coughlinism aims to divide us, race against race, and so to violate the spirit of Americanism.

His principles of Social Justice are in my opinion a blind for his demagogic, anti-semitic and undemocratic

campaign. It reminds me of a beautiful flower shop attended by a gentle old man, while in the rear of the shop a vicious trade in opium and other narcotics is in full progress. The flower shop is the blind for the illegal traffic. Father Coughlin's principles of Social Justice are a blind for his attack on democracy and the Jews. In making this analogy, I do not ignore the merits of some parts of the Social Justice program, but they are only the means for the deception practised by Coughlinism.

And Father Coughlin, fearful lest we should see behind his smoke-screen, said on Sunday, February 26, 1939, "Nothing can be gained by linking ourselves with any organization which is engaged in agitating racial animosities or propagating racial hatreds. Organizations which stand behind such platforms are immoral. . . ."

In this very same broadcast, however, Father Coughlin refers to "Christian Americanism" and "Christian American action" which is another expression for what Froboese proclaimed as a "Jew-free America" at the Bund rally in Madison Square Garden on February 20th. In the same broadcast he calls for unity in America. But what unity? Hear his words: "This, then, is no time to divide our forces, be we rich or poor, Catholic or Protestant, Democrat or Republican." He omits the inclusion of Jews in a unified America. Yet earlier in his own words he branded organizations "which stand upon such programs" as immoral.

We call such programs un-American. We state that in the light of the facts Coughlinism is an organized effort to open the door to fascism in America. We state that as Americans we are unalterably opposed to both

Fascism and Communism which at heart amount to one and the same thing so far as American democracy is concerned. The one sets race against race, the other class against class. Here in America we desire and shall continue to pray for a united people including all races and all classes "with liberty and justice for all."

COUGHLINISM OR CHRISTIANITY

For the first time in the history of America our people are being asked to unite for political action on the basis of religion. More than once Father Coughlin has appealed for what he calls "American Christian Democracy" and "Christian Americanism."

In many speeches and with other instruments of propaganda he has attempted, after the manner of approved Nazi technique, to build a following around hatred of the Jews, whom he has painted as the instigators of Communism. Having aroused hatred for the Jewish people as those who are responsible for Communism, he came forward on February 26, 1939, with a program of fourteen points which he described as a "platform for Christian American action." In this same speech he further appealed for an American unity which still did not include the Jews, the freethinkers and others who have no formulated religious belief. This fact, taken with his propaganda of hatred and his insistence upon Christian Americanism, strikes a new and dangerous note in American life. It is not only the note that sounds the doom of the American principle of racial equality. It is the note that now sounds the doom of the American principle of religious equality.

Now it appears that our country is no longer to belong to all the people. Now it appears that Abraham Lincoln's words "government of the people, by the

people and for the people" are to be made meaningless. Now it appears that ours will no longer be a democracy whose welfare depends upon the wisdom and strength of all the people of all races and of all religions, as has always been true in the past, but now democracy and Americanism must be turned over to the control of a minority of our citizens who profess to believe in the Christian religion. Now ours is no longer just plain old-fashioned American democracy. Now it must be American Christian democracy.

This attempt of Coughlinism to further religious discrimination in America will be resented and vigorously opposed by all American citizens and by every American citizen who is a Christian. All Americans will resent it and oppose it because they know that it is not democracy but the first step toward dictatorship. All Americans who are Christians will resent it and oppose it because they know that it is not, nor can it ever be, Christian. It is a blasphemy against Christianity.

That Coughlinism is aiming to saddle this country with a dictatorship that may be described as Christian has at last become clear. *Social Justice* for February 20, 1939, carries an editorial entitled "A Christian Minority." I quote from this article: "The principle of mere 'majority-ism'—sometimes called democracy and sometimes Bolshevism—is not enough. The popular fallacy is that '50 million Frenchmen can't be wrong.' As a matter of experience and historic fact, 50 men are much more likely to be right than 50 million."

Here let it be noted that Coughlinism links democracy with Bolshevism, an indication of how little it understands democracy and an indication of the scorn in

which it holds our heritage. Let it also be noted that the belief is advanced that the majority opinion by which democracy has always worked is not the best basis for determining the best kind of government. It will further be noted that Coughlinism believes that a minority is more likely to be right than a majority. Let me repeat the words: "As a matter of experience and historic fact, 50 men are much more likely to be right than 50 million." That is a bold and unguarded statement for one to make while professing a love for democracy which, as everyone should know, contends that only a majority of the people can be trusted to rule—never a minority.

The editorial in *Social Justice* then goes on to inveigh against any "Communistic effort at government" because the principle of class struggle is wrong. However, it does this only to oppose class struggle in favor of religious struggle. I quote: "It is not the fact that a government is 'democratic' but that it is Christian makes it workable for good and assures its continuance. A Christian monarchy will deserve to outlast a godless 'democracy.' It is not alone the 'will' of a people, but the will of the people 'for the common good' that must win out. There is no magic in mere majorities. Unless the democracies, therefore, are also Christian democracies, they will give way to Christian dictatorships—and people will probably support them."

Here we learn something that for a hundred and fifty years no American ever dreamed of—that "it is not the fact that a government is 'democratic' but that it is Christian makes it workable for good and assures its continuance."

For a hundred and fifty years we have proceeded in

the belief that this government was the best in the world because it was the product of the best that all of our people could pour into it. We have never required any aspirant to public office to qualify on the ground of his religious belief. We have had, consequently, in public office men of all faiths who have had, however, one thing in common—their belief in democracy and the participation of all the people in deciding what kind of government we should have. As far as Christianity is concerned the truth is that, although we believe that our democracy is founded upon Christian principles, we also believe that these Christian principles have expressed themselves in true Christian fashion—not in behalf of Christians only, but in behalf of all men, all American men and women—Christians, freethinkers, Jews and all others.

But Coughlinism, with its contempt for democracy and with its plan to drive a wedge between races and religions in America, has the temerity to state "unless 'democracies' . . . are also Christian democracies, they will give way to Christian dictatorships—and people will probably support them."

Let the disciples of Coughlinism and Fascism and Communism all understand that Americans will never support any dictatorship, so-called Christian, Fascist or Communist.

But now we understand that Coughlinism, finding the will of all the people too much for it, turns to a new appeal, the appeal for the rule in America of a minority which it calls a Christian dictatorship.

Continuing, this editorial asks, "Is the United States, for instance, a Christian democracy? Is it even Christian? A glance at the record is a startling revelation. Of our

125 to 130 million population fewer than 31 millions are baptized Christians. That goes for Catholics, Protestants, and indifferentists; it even includes all who were carried to a baptismal font as infants and have never been in a church since. With all our bickering over creeds and dogmas and denominational differences laid aside, the Christians in America could not hope to 'win' even if they were united and voted *en bloc*. That is to say, if winning depended upon the democratic principle of a mere majority."

In other words, since, on the admission of *Social Justice* itself, Christians are not in a majority in America and since they cannot control the country as Christians for that reason, their only hope of gaining control is by depending upon some other method which is not according to the American principle of "a mere majority." That other principle is the principle of dictatorship!

The next paragraph in this editorial sets forth the statement that America remains a Christian country in spite of the minority Christian position because "the vast body of non-Christian indifferentists are not anti-Christian—yet." The inference is that there is danger that "the vast body of non-Christian indifferentists" will yet become anti-Christian. And if they should, it will only be because such poor exponents of Christianity as the followers of Coughlinism have presented Christianity as identified with hatred and persecution and misrepresentation. If enough people once believe that Coughlinism truly represents Christianity, can we be surprised if they say, "If that is Christianity we will have nothing to do with it." Fortunately, that is not Christianity. The indifferentists will yet be won to Christianity, but only by

Christians who follow the Christian way of life, of love, and consideration, and patience, and self-sacrifice. Even this editorial seems to approve of this principle by appealing to Christians "to live their faith," but only after it has made the most brazen suggestion that foreign dictators have much to teach us. Says *Social Justice* in this same editorial, "But, instead of speaking out of turn, and gratuitously, about the 'persecution' of religion by Christian dictators in other lands, America ought to be appealing to them for missionaries."

So America ought to cease speaking out of turn about the persecution of religion by Christian dictators in other lands! So "America ought to be appealing to them for missionaries"! Who, we may ask, are these Christian dictators in other lands? Who are these Christian dictators whom Americans admire so much as to appeal to them for missionaries? And who are the missionaries to be sent out by the "Christian dictators in other lands"—and what will they teach us? Will they teach us how to rob defenseless people of their private property? Will they teach us how to build concentration camps in which to torture all those who do not subscribe to their Christian dictatorship? Will they help us perfect a technique for bombing women, old men and innocent children? Will they teach us how to suppress freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of peaceable public assembly? Will they teach us how in America, in the name of their Christian dictatorship, to outrage every Christian principle of decency and honor by persecuting not only Jews but Catholics and Protestants and Free-Masons and all others who resist them?

So instead of speaking against the persecution of reli-

gion by Christian dictators abroad we might, according to *Social Justice*, appeal to the Christian dictators for missionaries. We are grateful to Coughlinism for at last being so clear and forthright. We now know what we may expect of it. We now know that it not only despises democracy in favor of dictatorship. We now know that it also has no sympathy for the persecution of religion by dictators in other lands. In reality it cares neither for democracy nor religion. It cares only for its own unholy and un-American thirst for power.

In this, as in other respects, Coughlinism runs true to Nazi form. For the Nazis, too, care nothing for democracy or religion. Now we can understand why the Nazis —not the German people—but the Nazis, can persecute the church and yet hail Father Coughlin as a hero.

It is because they know that he understands their way and their method. What is that way and that method? It is the way of first stirring up bitterness against the Jews not because they believe what they say about the Jews but because they see in the common hatred of this race the opportunity to rally men to their standard. Says Adolf Hitler in *Mein Kampf*: "All propaganda must limit itself to a very few points. It need not search for truth. The masses are not in a position to distinguish where the wrong of others ends and their own begins." So, misrepresent the Jews. Make them responsible for all the distress of the nation. Make them one with Communism. And the people will believe these falsehoods and join together against the Jews. This is the Nazi method. It is also the method of Coughlinism—the satellite of Nazism.

Early in Hitler's reign, on April 7, 1933, came this dis-

patch from Berlin to the *New York Times*, "For the first time since he became Chancellor, Adolf Hitler issued a pronouncement on the Jewish question today, and this pronouncement was an endorsement of the anti-Semitic drive in Germany." This anti-Semitic campaign began to be carried out. Jews were beaten and robbed. Synagogues were desecrated. The German Medical Association, under a Nazi commissar, was instructed to purge the medical profession of Jews. Jews were removed from the intellectual and cultural life of Germany—not by the German people but by the Nazi Party. Thus Hitler began his campaign against the Jews even as Coughlinism has begun its campaign against the Jews.

Surely, we thought, this was only a campaign against the Jews. Other people would have their rights respected by the Nazis. The Protestants in Germany thought that their rights would be respected. Dr. Martin Niemoeller, leading Protestant pastor, hero in the World War and "unimpeachably Nordic," thought that he saw much good in the Nazi regime. He supported it as far as he could.

However, he preached a sermon on the text, "We must obey God rather than Man." Arrested on July 1, 1937, he was tried by a civil court, acquitted in March, 1938 on the charge of sedition, convicted of the minor offense of "misuse of the pulpit," and ordered released because he had already served more than the nominal seven months' sentence imposed. But at the prison door he was re-arrested, not for a crime, but solely because the secret police did not like him. And today, despite the fact that he has thousands of Christian followers in Germany, Dr. Niemoeller languishes in a Nazi concentration

camp fifteen miles outside Berlin with the Bible, a hymn book and the daily papers as his chief reading matter.

So to the Nazi persecution of the Jews was added the persecution of Protestants. Surely, we thought, it will go no further. Surely it will not touch the Roman Catholic Church. It seemed so, for on July 8, 1933, the *New York Times* reported "a concordat between the Holy See and Germany 'destined to render impossible any future conflicts between the Church and State in Germany,' to quote Vice-Chancellor Von Papen, was initialed today by Cardinal Pacelli, the Papal Secretary of State, and Colonel Von Papen."

But on June 30, 1934, the Secretary General of the Catholic Youth Organization and the head of the Catholic Action Society were murdered by Hitler's agents in the Nazi purge. In 1935 Catholic priests and nuns were arrested on the charge of smuggling currency out of the country, and an anti-Catholic press campaign began. Later, one hundred and fifty leaders of Catholic Youth and other organizations were arrested on charges of conspiring with communists against the Nazi state. Later still Cardinal Faulhauber's palace was stoned. Cardinal Innitzer was attacked. The property of Austrian Catholic student organizations was confiscated. On October 14, 1938 the Associated Press reported that the Committee for Catholic Refugees from Germany claimed that the enemies of the Church in the Reich "were seeking its complete destruction." Said Joseph Buerckel, Nazi Commissioner for Austria, "We have definitely decided not to permit any more preparatory schools for the priesthood." On February 2, 1939 the official Vatican paper, *L'Osservatore Romano*, accused Hitler of "a campaign

of apostasy."

That is the Nazi way and the Nazi method with religion—all religion, Jewish, Protestant and Catholic. That is the way and the method that the Christian dictators in other lands can teach us. That is the way and the method for which Coughlinism appeals in *Social Justice* for February 20, 1939. That is Coughlinism. That is what it would introduce into America. Even as it talks about its horror at the persecution of Christians abroad, even as it asks us to be interested in the persecution of Christians as well as in the persecution of Jews, it adopts the way and the method of the persecutors of Christians. It adopts its way and method of arousing hatred for the Jews. It goes to Nazi propaganda sources. It announces a program around which it asks a Christian minority to rally.

This attempt to line up Christianity with the denial of rights to men who are not Christians is the most dangerous threat to true Christianity that we who are Christians have ever faced in this country. This attempt to make the just and compassionate Christ, whose birth the angels announced with "peace on earth, good will toward men," a party to racial hatred, this attempt to twist His gospel of reconciliation of man to God, and man to man, into a hideous pronouncement of bloody division among men, this attempt to associate the name of Jesus Christ with the rowdyism and Jew-baiting mouthings of uncouth picket lines, this attempt to satisfy blood-lust in the name of the Founder of Christianity is the most brazen, the most brutal, the most un-Christian act that this country has ever seen! Coughlinism is the enemy of Christianity.

And every Christian will denounce it. Every Christian will remember Christ's commandment to love God with all the heart, with all the soul, and with all the mind. Every Christian will remember Christ's commandment to love his neighbor as himself, will remember His illustration of Neighborliness in the Parable of the Good Samaritan. Every Christian will remember Christ's pronouncement of the Golden Rule. Every Christian will remember Christ Himself said to do the will of God comes before talking about allegiance to Him. "Not every one that saith unto me 'Lord, Lord,' shall enter into the Kingdom of Heaven, but he that doeth the will of My Father which is in Heaven."

No one who knows the first thing about Christ's religion can associate it with hatred as Coughlinism does. And there are millions of Christians, Catholic and Protestant, who will not permit anyone to link Christianity with persecution or the overthrow of our democratic institutions by the establishment of a Coughlin dictatorship, a Nazi dictatorship or a Communist dictatorship.

The best service of Christ is to do the works of Christ and these works bear in no sense the marks of persecution.

At the Judgment Day "when the secrets of all hearts shall be disclosed" how can we stand before Him who came to bind men to God and to each other, with the blood of a single man of any race on our hands? How can we stand before Him who came to destroy hatred, with the black hatred of other men in our hearts? Will it be enough for us to say—if we should be so unfortunate as to stand before Him with blood on our hands or hatred in our hearts—"We thought we were doing it

for Thee"? There will be no answer from Him. But from our conscience will come the answer, "I have sinned by my fault, my own fault, my own most grievous fault."

Wait not until the Judgment Day to think of that. Think of it today. We have the Church which teaches us love for God and love for men—all men. We have the Scriptures which teach us love for God and love for men —all men. We have our conscience which approves the teachings of the Church and of the Scriptures—love for God and love for men—all men. Let us turn deaf ears to the counsel of evil which in the name of Christianity would lead us away from Christianity. And rather let us listen to the counsel of St. Paul who said "Whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are honest, whatsoever things are just, whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are of good report; if there be any virtue, and if there be any praise, think on these things."

Let us think on these things.

CHRISTIAN LEADERS AGAINST ANTI-SEMITISM

"Certain of the clergy, and princes, nobles, and great lords of your cities and dioceses have falsely devised certain godless plans against the Jews. . . . We ordain that you behave toward them in a friendly and kind manner. Whenever any unjust attacks upon them come under your notice, redress their injuries, and do not suffer them to be visited in the future by similar tribulations."

—Pope Gregory IX

"Whereas the Jews are made to the image and likeness of God and a portion of them one day will be saved and whereas they have besought our protection; following in the footsteps of our predecessors we command that they be not molested in their synagogues; that their laws, rights, and customs be not assailed; that they be not baptized by force, constrained to observe Christian festivals, nor to wear badges, and they be not hindered in their business relations with Christians."

—Pope Martin V

"It is forgotten that humankind, the whole of humankind, is a single, great universal human race. All men are, above all, members of the same great kind. They all belong to the single great family of the living. Humankind is, therefore, a single universal race."

—Pope Pius XI

"Abraham is called our patriarch, our ancestor. Anti-Semitism is not compatible with the sublime reality of this text; it is a movement which we Christians can not share. . . . No, it is not possible for Christians to take part in anti-Semitism. We are Semites spiritually."

—Pope Pius XI

"As a Catholic I salute the Jew as my spiritual ancestor, who preserved belief in one God in hard, cruel times, who worshipped and still worships the true God."

—Rev. Dr. Maurice S. Sheehy,
of the Catholic University of America

"The rising tide of anti-Semitism in this country has assumed proportions that call for the vigilant and vigorous concern of every right-minded American who cherishes precious liberties, guaranteed by the Bill of Rights."

—Rev. Edmund A. Walsh,
Vice-President of Georgetown University

"The primary doctrine of Americanism, as set forth in the Declaration of Independence, namely, the essential equality and intrinsic dignity and sacredness of all persons, is approved by the teaching of Christ, the principles of the moral law and the head of the Catholic Church."

—Mgr. John A. Ryan, of the
Catholic University of America

"America must use every resource within its power to banish and drive away bigotry, intolerance, class and race hatreds. It must regard as avowed enemies to its institutions those who secretly or openly give allegiance to

systems that are wholly alien to the fundamental law and the accredited ideals of our nation."

—Rt. Rev. James E. Freeman,
Bishop of Washington

"It is a shocking thing that there can be in the world today a fresh outbreak of prejudice and persecution against the Jewish people and that there should even be some evidences of this spirit here in our own land. I am glad indeed to speak my word against the manifestation of this spirit anywhere, and especially against any disposition to incite, encourage or countenance any such spirit in this country. We have, as Americans, much to be thankful for but our greatest reason for thankfulness is that we live in a land in which our principle and ideal is that men and women of different races and religious convictions shall live together as fellow citizens in friendship, brotherhood and full mutual respect."

—Rt. Rev. William T. Manning, Bishop of New York

". . . Christians feel themselves involved in the barbarism of Nazi rule, and thus threatened by the same peril of persecution. Protestants and Catholics alike have seen their churches closed, their youth organizations suppressed, their religious papers banned, their ministers and priests silenced, arrested, and interned. The Catholics know all too well that when Hitler and his minions have plundered the Jews to the last ducat, they will turn to the churches and monasteries of Rome, and loot them of their treasures. To fight for Israel, therefore, is to fight for Christendom as well. Confronted by pagan savagery,

church and synagogue alike endure a common lot and would avoid a common fate."

—Rev. Dr. John Haynes Holmes,
Community Church, New York City

"Anti-Semitism, like all cruel racial prejudice, is a denial of the basic affirmations of high religion. Whether one approach religion from the standpoint of its view of human personality as in itself sacred, or from the viewpoint of its view of God as being Creator and Father of the whole human family, anti-Semitism is irreconcilable with it."

—Rev. Dr. Harry Emerson Fosdick,
Riverside Church, New York City

ON PEACE AND FREEDOM

"The future world will be a dangerous place to live in if it is ruled by force—force in the hands of a few."

—President Franklin D. Roosevelt

"Woe to the people which, not knowing which way to turn, at last actually seeks its way out through the abomination of war, hated of God and man."

—Thomas Mann

"With malice toward none; with charity for all; with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right. let us strive on. . . ."

—Abraham Lincoln

"People never give up their liberties but under some delusion."

—Edmund Burke

"The spirit of truth and the spirit of freedom—they are the pillars of society."

—Henrik Ibsen

"Tyranny is a habit capable of being developed, and at last becomes a disease. . . . The man and the citizen disappear for ever in the tyrant."

—Fyodor Dostoyevsky

"I disapprove of what you say, but I will defend to the death your right to say it."

—François M. A. Voltaire

> ". . . . The wisdom that is from above is first pure, then peaceable, gentle, easy to be entreated, full of mercy and good fruits, without variance, without hypocrisy. And the fruit of righteousness is sown in peace for them that make peace."
>
> —James 3:17–18

"If liberty and equality are chiefly to be found in democracy, they will be best attained when all persons share in the government."

—Aristotle

"The tyrant is always stirring up some war or other in order that the people may require a leader."

—Plato

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